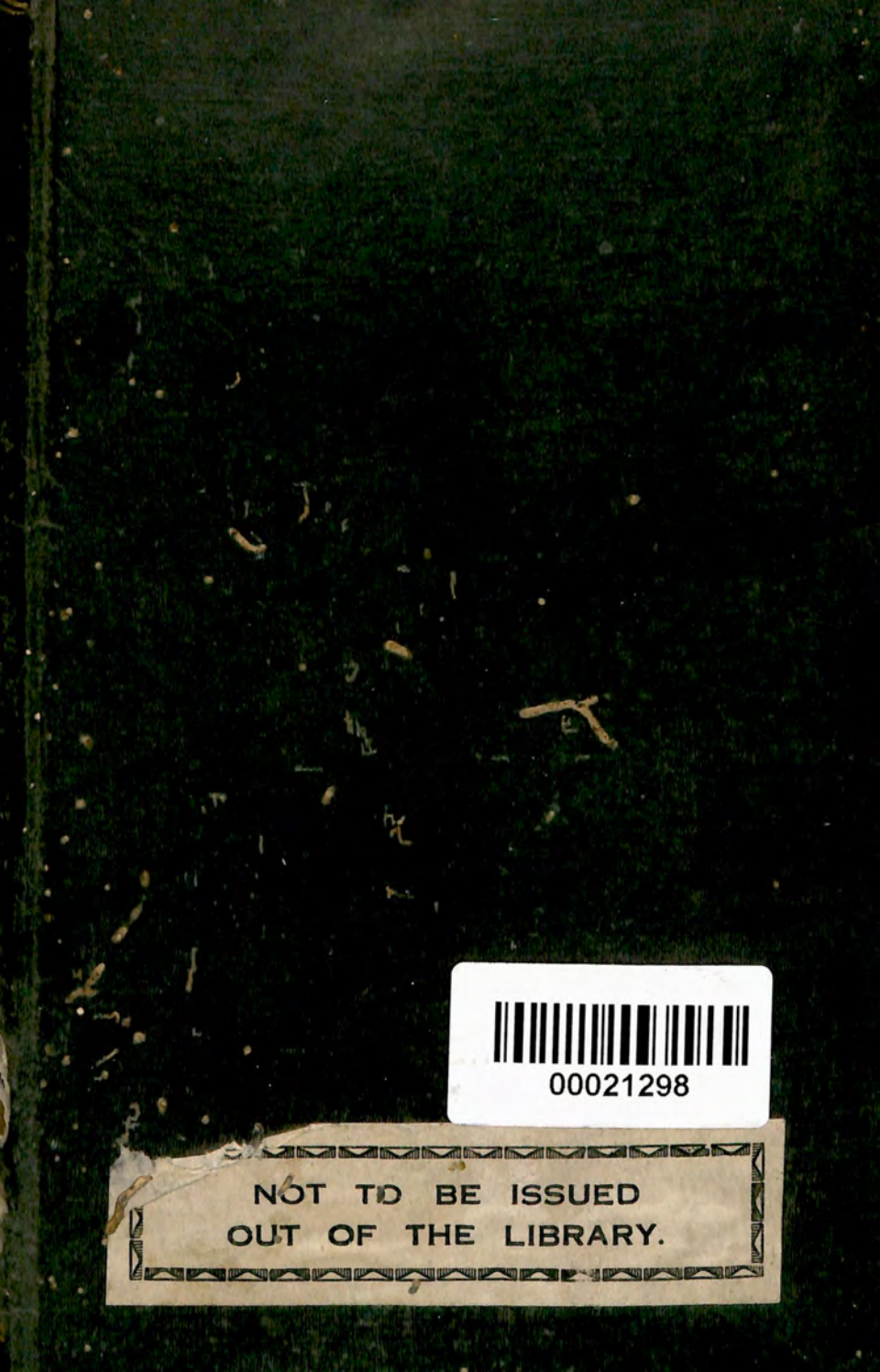
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ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY

OF

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH;

OR,

SKETCHES OF LIFE

FROM THE BYE-WAYS OF HISTORY.

BY

THE BENEDICTINE BRETHREN OF GLENDALOUGH.

"We gather after the reapers."

EDITED BY

WILLIAM COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D. ETC.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
AUTHOR OF "THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY," ETC.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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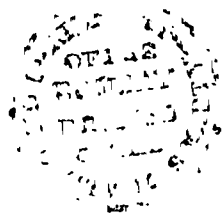

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HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY.

CALVIN AND THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

"THE evil that men do lives after them," but the evil that women do has greater extent and vitality; Mary's bigotry had many remote consequences which her historians have not traced; the leading Reformers who fled from her cruelties brought with them, on their return from exile, the principles of Puritanism and Republicanism which annoyed Elizabeth, perplexed James, and killed Charles. Our ecclesiastical historians of every party have touched but lightly on the influence which a residence in Geneva must have produced on the exiled preachers; they give to Knox, to Cartwright, to Browne, and to Peters the credit or discredit of the principles which belonged to Calvin, and they pass over the circumstances by which these principles were so fixed and strengthened that they resisted all the seductions of promotion and all the violence of persecution.

It is very easy to dilate on the obstinacy of the Puritans,—to ridicule the trifling nature of a dis-

pute about gowns, hoods, surplices, and square caps, — and to collect absurdities from foolish pamphlets, in which the cut of a coat is treated as a case of conscience. If, on the one hand, mean and despicable motives be found bearing an important share in the production of great events, so, on the other, very rational objects and purposes may be discovered intermingled with monstrous absurdities. The refusal "to weare the apparell prescribed by the lawes and orders of the realme" was not a mere question affecting tailors and milliners; it involved the consideration of the fundamental principles both of ecclesiastical and civil government; it was, apparently, a battle about indifferent forms, but it was really a contest for the substance both of Church and State. It would seem, from its history, that a certain portion of nonsense must be intermingled with every controversy, and be the sweet medium for inducing that overgrown child, the public, to swallow the morsel of sense which lies at the bottom.

It would be absurd to assert that any cause has ever been advocated by rational arguments alone, or that it did not often owe its success to credulity as well as conviction. Erasmus' Dissertation in praise of Folly was intended as a joke, but the influence of folly is no joke, and it is never despised by sensible people. Before giving any account of the English exiles who went to Geneva, it will be necessary to explain the peculiar aspect which the

Reformation assumed in that city, and to ascertain the nature of the influence which the peculiarities of its developement were likely to exercise. This will require us to give some sketch of the life of John Calvin: he was not, indeed, a hero of the Elizabethan age, but there was scarcely any one who exercised greater influence in the silent ordering of its events.

The Reformation in Switzerland was provoked by the extravagancies of the preachers of Indulgences. Bernardin Sanson was scarcely a less impudent quack than Tzetzel; he not only professed to deliver souls from purgatory, but to see them in their flight to heaven; until at length his drafts on credulity became so excessive, that they ceased to be any longer honoured, and his hearers withheld both their faith and their cash. He now tried to reason them into compliance; he talked of the necessity of erecting a cathedral at Rome, destined to be the metropolitan church of Christendom, and, therefore, requiring every decoration that could be produced by the highest exercise of human art. Zwingle, who was among his auditors, pointed to the peaks of the Alps, as they stood in a broad sunshine, invested with the countless glories of varying light and shade. "The Temple is already built!" he exclaimed, and the Franciscan was unable to reply. Zwingle's doctrines spread rapidly; they soon reached Geneva, where the citizens were engaged in a sharp struggle to maintain

their municipal rights against their Bishops and the Dukes of Savoy. The principles of the Protestant preachers, and the aid of the Protestant cantons were equally useful in such a struggle. Farel came as a missionary from Berne to Geneva; and no more effective agent could have been chosen. He was dwarfish and deformed, his fiery eyes gave a half-savage expression to his dark face, which was increased by his neglected hair and shaggy beard. But he was a man of indomitable courage and energy; believing that a voice from Heaven was ever urging him onwards, he pursued his career, utterly regardless of authority and all its forms. The crown and the crosier, the splendour of courts and the refinement of schools, were equally worthless in his eyes. His sermons were usually vehement invectives; and when his powers of language were exhausted in denouncing images and the Romish furniture of churches, he did not hesitate to take a hammer and commence the work of destruction. The authorities of the cities which had adopted Protestantism insisted that the monks and nuns who remained in their territories should go to hear Farel's sermons; the monastics refused, but were soon starved into compliance, for it was proclaimed that "recusants should not have liberty to grind corn at the public mills, to bake in the public ovens, or to purchase meat and vegetables in the public markets." No sermon no meat, was a very effective procla-

mation; the poor monks found it necessary to digest dinner and doctrine together.

A Genevese nun, sister Jane de Jussie, in a curious history of the persecutions she endured from the Reformers, gives the following account of Farel's sermons, from which it will be seen that monks and nuns were not without excuse in absenting themselves from his oratorical exhibitions. "In the month of April, 1535, that turbulent preacher, Farel, and Peter Veret d'Orbe took possession of the convent of St. Francis, and as they were near the convent of the poor sisters of St. Claire, they caused them great annoyance. They directed the attention of their hearers to the nuns, saying, that they were poor blinded creatures, wanderers from the faith, that for the sake of their salvation they should be delivered from prison, and that everybody ought to pelt them with stones; that they were impure hypocrites, for they pretended to keep vows of chastity which God had not ordained, because it was impossible that they should be kept, and that they fed brawny Cordeliers on partridges and fat capons, who slept in the convent."

Farel's violence was carried to such an extreme that it must have produced a perilous re-action, had he not been, fortunately, joined by Calvin at the very moment when the authorities of the city were deliberating on the means of restraining the violence of the Iconoclasts. Beza, in some

verses not destitute of merit, describes Farel as a thundering preacher, Viret as a winning orator, and Calvin as a learned logician. Farel's mission was to destroy; the erection of a new edifice required talents of a very different order.

Calvin visited Geneva without intending to make it the place of his residence. He was an exile from his native land, having no fixed abode, and intent only on his determined warfare against Romish errors and usurpations. Born at Noyon, in 1509, and sent by the patronage of kind friends to study at the Sorbonne, Calvin became early attached to the Reformed doctrines, but, nevertheless, entered into orders and obtained some preferment in the church; after a short incumbency, he sold his livings, disposed of his paternal estate, and returned to Paris. Here he became intimate with Nicholas Cap, rector of the Sorbonne, a stupid, blundering German, much fitter to lecture on cookery than divinity. Cap had to pronounce a discourse before the University; unable to produce a proper essay himself, he applied to Calvin for assistance, and received a sermon, in which the peculiar doctrines of the Reformers were stated with great boldness and clearness. It so happened that this discourse, instead of being delivered before the University, was preached to a few Cordeliers; they listened with amazement to the heretical tenets, and scarcely waited for the conclusion of the sermon to lay an information

against the unfortunate preacher. Cap appealed to the University, and engaged Calvin to write his defence; the apology repeated the most offensive doctrines of the sermon; the theologians who listened to it were at first overpowered by its audacity, but at length they sprang from their seats and rushed upon the unfortunate rector, who narrowly escaped being torn to pieces. In consequence of the prosecution with which he was threatened, Cap deemed it necessary to fly from Paris, and Calvin, whose share in the offensive discourse was soon detected, found it necessary to follow his example.

Calvin found shelter at the court of Nerac, where Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I., was the patroness of every novelty in literature, science, and divinity. Some doubt has been thrown on her claim to the authorship of the licentious novels which bear her name, but Brantôme, whose mother was lady in waiting to the Queen, avers that she was the sole writer of a collection, compared with which the worst parts of the Decameron are the perfection of purity. Round her were assembled poets whose odes showed more knowledge of the mysteries of Venus than of the arts of the Muses; actors from Italy, who played comedies founded on the Old and New Testament, introducing the prophets and apostles to denounce the profligacy of monks and nuns with more strength than delicacy;

ladies who wrote tales of gallantry founded on their own adventures; and theologians who discussed points of doctrine with more zeal than learning. While under the protection of this princess, Calvin began the composition of his Christian Institutes, the most remarkable literary work to which the Reformation gave birth. From Nerac he removed to Claix, and afterwards to Orleans, where he was first brought into contact with Servetus.

There have been many strange fanatics in the world, but Servetus surpassed them all in the eccentricity, or rather the insanity of his proceedings. He was a Spaniard by birth, having been born at Tudela, in the kingdom of Arragon, in the year 1501. He was educated as a physician, and in the course of his studies, was seduced by the Jewish and Arabian writers on the natural sciences to adopt the reveries of the alchemists. Persuaded by the Cabalists that there was some mysterious connection between theology and chemistry, he became a diligent student of the Hebrew Bible with the Jewish commentaries, and was thus led to believe that deep mysteries of science were typified by the simplest narratives of Scripture. He soon became one of the most learned and arrogant pedants of his day; and, in all the pride of self-idolatry, he proposed to establish a new religion in Spain. The Inquisitors were soon on his

track, but he made his escape to Haguenau, where, in 1531, he published a defiance to the whole Christian world, under the title of "An Essay on the Erroneous Notions respecting a Trinity." This extraordinary pamphlet is the strangest compound of talent and absurdity, of the most extensive learning, mingled with the most shallow ignorance that ever issued from the press. Many of his arguments are derived from physiology; and, in one passage, he clearly shows that he had anticipated Harvey in discovering the circulation of the blood.* The style is offensively arrogant, almost verging on brutality; he treats the doctrine of the Trinity as a Papal vision, a fabulous chimera, a visionary phantom of dreaming metaphysicians. He even

* As this is so remarkable a fact, we shall quote two of the passages in the Treatise, which establish Servetus's claim to priority of discovery beyond the possibility of doubt.

"Fit autem hæc communicatio non per parietem cordis medium ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio a dextro cordis ventriculo; longo per pulmones ductu, agitatur sanguis subtilis. A pulmonibus præparatur, flavus efficitur, et a vena arteriosa in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsa arteria venosa, inspirato aeri miscetur et expiratione a fuligine expurgatur. Atque ita tandem a sinistro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolem attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis...

"Ifle itaque spiritus vitalis a senestro cordis ventriculo, in arteriam totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita ut qui tenuior est, præcipue in plexu sub basi cerebri sito, ubi ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem accedit."

declares that it was great condescension on his part, to stoop to the refutation of such a dogma. It is not easy in these days to comprehend the effect produced by this extraordinary production; in Germany, it was received with a universal shout of horror; the leading Reformers hastened to disavow and denounce the new doctrine, and even Melancthon wrote to the Senate of Venice, pointing out the gross heresies contained in the work.

All this noise and alarm gave great delight to Servetus; he increased the tumult by publishing his "Dialogues on the Trinity," in which he repeated every offensive assertion with greater insolence than ever, concluding with a fierce tirade against the printer of his former work for the typographical errors with which it abounded. Having succeeded so far with the pen, he next resolved to take the field as a spiritual Quixote, and challenge every professor of theology in Europe to meet him in public disputation. His first encounter was with Œcolampadius at Basle, where Servetus overwhelmed his adversary by a multitude of quotations, the more puzzling, as they had little or nothing to do with the subject. He next proceeded to Strasburg, begging his bread along the road, and threw down the gauntlet to Bucer; the challenge was accepted, and Servetus stated, what he was pleased to denominate his religious system, with the most

contemptuous disregard for the creed of his audience. Bucer was too much shocked by this daring impiety to make a formal reply, he declared that he would not dispute with a demon in human shape, and imprecated on the blasphemer's head the wrath of heaven and the vengeance of the civil power. Servetus had no ambition for the martyrdom which, he learned, was prepared for him by the magistracy of Strasburg; he set out in quest of Calvin, to whom he had sent a formal defiance. A day was fixed for the disputation, but Servetus did not appear, having been warned, as he asserted, that Calvin had formed a plot for bringing him to the stake, as he actually did after the lapse of several years.

Getting weary, for a season, of his theological pursuits, Servetus resumed the practice of medicine, and under the fictitious name of Villonovanus established himself in Paris. His rage for controversy was not a whit abated, and his renewed profession afforded him a wide scope for the indulgence of his master-passion. He published an essay on the use of Syrups, in which he denounced all living physicians as a set of ignorant quacks, and declared that Galen, their great authority, was a mere charlatan and impostor. The whole medical profession rose in arms against the Spanish innovator; so fierce was the struggle, that the parliament of Paris was com-

pelled to interfere and issue an edict, commanding the physicians of France to live in peace with Villonovanus. They forgot to include in their decree a prohibition of any fresh provocation from the Spaniard, which, however, was not long wanting; Servetus began to give lectures on Astrology, and announced that he was about to issue an almanac showing how all manner of diseases, bodily and spiritual, might be healed by the influence of the stars. His boldness was rewarded by a crowd of pupils. One day he announced to his audience that there would be an occultation of Mars by the Moon, and that this phenomenon presaged a general conflagration, the death of potentates, the ruin of the Church, and plague, pestilence and famine throughout Christendom. The faculty of medicine cited the astrologer before the university of Paris; he was forbidden to utter any more predictions, and his projected almanac was absolutely prohibited. Disgusted with physic and physicians, Servetus next determined to make an experiment on Geography; he prepared an edition of Ptolemy, which contained the essence of volumes of controversy in every note, but finding that no Parisian bookseller would undertake the speculation, he removed to Lyons, where he brought out this work in 1535. Frellon, the printer and publisher of the work, was able to appreciate the extraordinary learning of Servetus, and he took

him into his employment as a corrector of the press. But such a peaceful occupation would not long satisfy the Spaniard; he once more resumed the medical profession, and established himself as a physician in the little town of Charlieu. He soon quitted his retreat and came to Lyons, where he met the archbishop of Vienne, who had known him in Paris under the assumed name of Villonovanus. This noble prelate took Servetus into his service, and gave him the use of his extensive library. Under his patronage, the Spaniard published a new edition of his Ptolemy, which obtained great success, and he also edited a Latin Bible with marginal notes, for which he received a large sum from the booksellers of Lyons. In this comfortable and safe retreat, we shall leave Servetus until his evil fate compels us to resume his history when he was again brought into contact with Calvin.

The publication of the Christian Institutes, rendered it necessary for Calvin to leave France; he visited Basle and Strasburg, but did not make a long stay in either place; having been invited to visit Italy by the Duchess of Ferrara. This illustrious lady, daughter to Louis XII. of France, was favourably disposed towards the Reformers; like her sister, the Queen of Navarre, she entertained a lively sense of the injuries offered to her father by the Popes Julius II. and Leo X, and was thus induced to lend a ready ear to the

Protestant doctrines. Her husband was a weak bigot, but he was engaged in war with Paul III, and to annoy the Pope, he permitted the Duchess to follow her inclinations and afford shelter to the French who had been exiled for their religion. It was at her court that Marot wrote the greater part of his version of the Psalms, which has by no means strengthened his claims to the title of "Ovid of the 16th century," for, in fact,

Sternhold himself he out—Sternholded.

Calvin reached Ferrara at an unfortunate time; the Duke had just concluded a treaty with the Pope, and the expulsion of the Huguenot exiles was one of the articles of peace. He was obliged to make immediate preparations for escape, and, to avoid his enemies, he took the road to Geneva. Before following him, we must briefly relate the subsequent history of the Duchess. She continued firmly attached to the Protestant faith, maintaining through her life a constant correspondence with Calvin and the leading Reformers. The Duke was unable to restrain her proceedings, and finally made complaint of her obstinacy to Henry II, her nephew, who then occupied the throne of France. Henry was voluptuous and ignorant, and, consequently, a bigot: he sent the Chief Inquisitor, Oriz, to Ferrara, with a letter of instructions which Le Laboreur has preserved. It is too long to be given entire, but we must

make room for a few edifying extracts. Oriz is directed to hear the Duke's statement, and then to remonstrate with the lady, telling her that the king's grief is inexpressible "for the dangers that menaced the body and soul of his only aunt;" that if she persevered in her errors, she would "lose the friendship and love of her good nephew to whom nothing was more odious than these detestable sectaries, of whom he was the mortal enemy." Oriz was then directed to compel her to attend a series of sermons against heresy, and should these fail, he was to exhibit the following order, "His Majesty wills, commands, and entreats the Duke to keep the said lady secluded from all company and conversation, so that she should be unable to injure anybody but herself, and to deprive her of her children; also to separate her from all her attendants of whatever nation they may be, who may be vehemently suspected of the said erroneous and false doctrines, and to have them brought to trial before Oriz, who is experienced in these matters, which form part of his profession as chief inquisitor of the kingdom." Oriz acted on these orders; the Duchess was separated from her children, and kept in confinement during the remainder of her husband's life.

On the death of the Duke, she returned to France, and took up her abode in the castle of Montargis, where she afforded a hospitable shelter

to the Huguenot refugees. Brantôme says that she protected and fed more than three hundred of these unfortunate persons at a time. To her kindness and generosity in this respect, Calvin bears testimony in a letter too creditable to both to be omitted.

"I know, Madam, how God has strengthened you to bear the rude assaults of your enemies, and how, by His grace, you have virtuously resisted all temptations, not shrinking from bearing the shame of Jesus Christ. You have been a nursing mother to the poor faithful, driven from their homes, not knowing where to seek a shelter. I know well that a princess, who looked merely to the opinions of the world, would deem it an insult that her castle should be called a *Hôtel Dieu;* but I could not confer greater honour on you than to use such an expression in recognition of the humanity with which you have afforded a refuge to the children of God. I have often thought, madam, that God had reserved such trials for your old age, to pay the arrears that you owe him for your timidity in former times. I speak after the manner of men; for were you to do a hundred times, or a thousand times so much, it would not be sufficient to discharge your vast debt to him, for the infinite blessings he has bestowed upon you. But, I perceive that he has bestowed high honour upon you by employing you in such a duty,

making you bear his banner that he might be glorified in you, enabling you to protect his Word, which is the inestimable treasure of salvation, and to be the refuge for the members of his Son's body."

The fanatic Duke of Guise, had married the Princess of Ferrara, and was much annoyed by his mother-in-law's patronage of the Huguenots. He threatened to besiege her in her castle of Montargis, unless she abandoned heresy. Her reply was worthy of the daughter of Louis XII.

"Consider well what you menace, for if you do come, I will place myself foremost in the breach, and try if you will have the audacity to kill the daughter of a king, whose death heaven and earth will be obliged to avenge on you and your line, even to the infant in the cradle."

The lady would have kept her word; but Guise had the prudence to abandon the enterprize. She continued to protect the Huguenots, without ever formally renouncing the Catholic religion, to the time of her death, which took place at Montargis, June 12th, 1575. Brantôme says, that she was diminutive in person, but of so high and indomitable a spirit that she was highly respected at court. As this lady's name is scarcely mentioned in history, we trust that we may be pardoned for digressing to render justice to her memory.

Calvin arrived at Geneva in 1536; the city had neither religious nor political organization, and he undertook the task of giving it both. Here, then, begins the influence of Calvin on British history; for the constitution which he bestowed upon Geneva was the model constantly present to the minds of the Puritans, in the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts; and it was actually adopted in Scotland to the utmost extent that circumstances would permit. Calvin's first care was to publish "A confession of Faith, which all the citizens, inhabitants, and subjects of Geneva, are bound to swear that they will observe and keep." He had foreseen that he would be called upon to act as a legislator, and had long previously prepared this Confession, a Catechism, a Code of Discipline, and a Form of Church government. But his first step encountered a fierce resistance; the leaders of the party who had established the independence of Geneva, called the Eidgenoss or "Friends of Unity," protested loudly against imposing a compulsory creed upon the citizens; most of them were young men of family, accustomed to indulge themselves in the amusements of the age, and, therefore, opposed to the rigid asceticism which it was Calvin's great object to establish. They nicknamed the great Reformer "The Mummy," and his friend Farel "The Windmill," and turned into ridicule the apathy of the one and the

extravagant gestures of the other. But they were denounced from the pulpit as libertines, and, in spite of their efforts, the compulsory Confession was adopted; all places of public entertainment were ordered to be closed at sunset; games of chance, and village dances prohibited; and the penalty of fine or imprisonment denounced against profane swearing, which was indeed a crying sin of the age. To these was soon added an edict for the strictest observance of the Sabbath, to which the Lutherans offered every opposition in their power, accusing Calvin of corrupting Christianity by the introduction of Judaism. The controversy respecting Consubstantiation had already divided the Reformers of Germany from those of Switzerland; but Calvin's Confession added new elements of discord, which put an end for ever to all probability of union.

Calvin objected to Luther and Zwingle, that their religious systems embodied too much of sentiment, boasting that his own was pure rationalism; but, with strange inconsistency, he procured the establishment of a tribunal to examine and punish all impugners of the faith, which was, in all but name, a Protestant Inquisition. In fact, he eventually declared that a reasonable creed was one about which nobody should reason. The Senate of Geneva obeyed all his caprices, and took cognizance of every breach of Church-discipline; it even descended to inquire

into the most minute violations of Calvinistic rule. The Register of the Republic for the 20th of May, 1537, contains the following whimsical entry:—"A married lady, having gone out last Sunday, wearing her hair in longer curls than is decorous, which is a bad example, and contrary to what is taught by our Evangelical preachers,—it is ordered that she be committed to prison, together with her two companions, and the person who dressed her hair." We find another entry of a man convicted of card-playing, who was sentenced to be exposed in the pillory with the pack suspended from his neck; and a third, of a magistrate sentenced to banishment for having spoken too respectfully of the Mass. These extravagancies were very offensive to the Eidgenoss; unable to resist them publicly, they turned them into ridicule at their festive meetings, and an association was formed by the young nobles, the members of which called themselves "The Knights of the Artichoke," for the express purpose of ridiculing such rigid observances. Calvin attacked the Eidgenoss from the pulpit, and publicly blamed the magistrates for not punishing them as delinquents: the Senate disliked this interference, and on the 12th of March, 1538, the following edict appears in the Register: "Ordered, that the preachers, but especially Farel and Calvin, be enjoined to abstain from politics." Nor was this the only sign of the waning influence of

Calvin, in Geneva; the council resolved to adopt the system of discipline used in the other Protestant churches of Switzerland; Calvin and Farel, not only refused to conform, but on the following Easter, refused to administer the sacrament to their congregations, as if the city had been in a state of excommunication. The Syndics assembled the people, and on the 23d of April, the two Reformers were ordered to quit Geneva in three days.

After a short delay at Berne, where he vainly endeavoured to obtain a reversal of his sentence, Calvin removed to Strasburg, where he was honourably received. A contemporary letter gives us the following graphic description of his personal appearance at this period. "He resembles an old hermit of the Thebaid, emaciated by long vigils and fasting, his cheeks are sunken, his forehead furrowed, his face colourless as that of a corpse, but his brilliant eyes glow with an unearthly fire. His figure is slightly bowed, the bones seem bursting through his skin, but his step is steady and his head firm." Calvin was the only unmarried preacher at Strasburg, and finding that his celibacy gave offence, he wrote a circular to his friends, requesting they would look out for a wife suitable to a preacher, as he had no time for courtship, and supplying them with the following outline of the qualifications he required. "I care not for personal charms; the only beauty

which delights me is that she should be chaste, econômical, obedient, patient, and that there should be a reasonable hope of her being attentive to the care of my health." Several young ladies were proffered to the advertiser, but he gave the preference to Idelette Stoerder, the widow of an Anabaptist whom he had converted. She had a large family by her former husband, whom she educated with great care, and who found in Calvin a second father.

The expulsion of the preachers who refused to adopt the Zwinglian formularies, had been effected by the influence of Berne, which aimed at becoming the metropolis of Swiss Protestantism; but the Bernese soon manifested an intention of following up their religious victory by establishing a political supremacy over Geneva. Calvin's cause then appeared to be once more identified with that of the independence of the city, and those who had been most eager for his banishment were not less anxious for his return. Every possible honour was paid to him in the edict of recal; a herald at arms was sent to escort him from Strasburg, money was supplied to defray the expenses of his journey, one of the best houses of Geneva was assigned for his use, and his salary was fixed at five hundred florins annually, with a further allowance of corn and wine. This was extraordinary munificence, at a time when the stipend of a Syndic was only twenty-five florins.

Restored to Geneva after three years of exile, Calvin had, at length, an opportunity of realizing his ideas of church-government. His plans were essentially Jewish; he resolved to establish a theocracy, such as he supposed to have existed when the Twelve Tribes were governed by the Judges. In his system, the Church was closely united, or rather identified with the State; the ministers were chosen by the State, but the Synod, or consistory of preachers and presbyters had jurisdiction over the consciences of the people, and it was the duty of the State to enforce its decrees. The clerical order, meeting in synod, had the sole power of conferring ordination on pastors and teachers, but the congregations, acting through the syndics, controlled their nomination to parishes. The pastor took an oath of allegiance to the laws of the State, but with this reservation, "Provided that they do not prejudice the liberty which the servants of the Lord have to teach what the Lord has enjoined in his Holy Word." Subordinate to the pastors were doctors or lecturers, who gave oral explanations of the Old and New Testaments. This office was usually held by candidates for the ministry, and was a useful preparation for their future duties.

The elders were the greatest novelty in Calvin's hierarchy; they were laymen appointed to watch over public morals and church-discipline; they were elected conjointly by the clergy and the

Council of State, and it was enacted that a portion of that council should always consist of these functionaries. They were thus invested with civil authority, and formed a bond of connection between the Consistory and the Senate. Each elder took the following oath of office: "I swear, according to the charge given me, to watch over all scandals, to hinder all blasphemies, idolatries, and misdemeanours, which are contrary to the honour of God and the Reformed order of the evangelical Church. When I discover anything which ought to be reported to the Consistory I will do my duty without hate, favour, or affection, but solely to maintain the Church in good order and in the fear of the Lord."

The Consistory was composed of six preachers and twelve elders; it met every Thursday and summoned offenders to its bar; they could inflict ecclesiastical censures and excommunications; those who refused submission to their authority were denounced to the Council of State. But this was not a sufficient approximation to a perfect theocracy for Calvin; he laments its incompleteness in several letters, declaring that he wished to invest the preachers with absolute authority in religion, and a preponderating influence over the state. Indeed, his ideal character of a Christian minister is marked by claims to larger authority than was demanded by the Popes themselves.

The minister, when he walks by the light of the

Eternal Word, is the most magnificent image of the Deity. Let others glory in their power, his is superior to that of all earthly dominations. His mission is to make every living thing bend beneath the yoke of the Word; he brings down the mighty from their seat and exalts the humble and meek. It is his part to extend the kingdom of God, and beat down Satan under his feet; to feed the flock, to chase away the wolves, to teach the docile, to chastise the incredulous, and, if it be necessary, to call down lightning from Heaven, and launch the thunderbolt in the name of Jehovah. The minister or pastor is as necessary to Christian society as light or heat to this physical world."

It is no wonder that the English and Scotch ministers who found shelter at Geneva should be so influenced by witnessing the supremacy of the pastors in this theocracy as to be impatient both of Royal and Episcopal authority when they returned home; they must have ever had before their eyes a vision of a spiritual republic, in which the ministry would be the chief aristocracy, and the preachers invested with the same authority as the Jewish prophets. The civil and criminal codes of Geneva were subjected to Calvin's revision when he had completed his system of ecclesiastical disciplines. He generally proposed to himself the Levitical law as his model; but in one enactment he clearly followed the Grand Turk,—faithless wives were doomed to be drowned in the

Lake with their eyes open, the legislator having dispensed with the decent ceremony of the sack used on the shores of the Bosphorus. The code of Draco was gentleness itself compared with the penal enactments of Geneva. Against idolatry and blasphemy it denounced the single word,—Death: against heresy, death; against adultery, death; against the child who cursed or struck a parent, death; against sorcery and witchcraft, death. It enjoins the use of torture, and allows confessions obtained on the rack to be read in evidence. Here is the record of a story which begins like a fairy tale, and ends like an anecdote of Domitian.

There was a rich citizen, named Henry Philip Le Neveu, who had for fifteen years an image painted on glass, which he called his familiar spirit, asserting that it whispered in his ear answers to any question he chose to ask. Le Neveu had a handsome wife, whose ramblings often excited his suspicions, and he began to consult the oracle respecting her whereabouts. The indiscreet image told him tales of which he had better have remained in ignorance; the poor man told the tale to his neighbours, and it was soon spread through the city that he possessed an image that could speak, and a wife who wished the image to be silent. The matter reached the ears of the Council. Le Neveu was arrested, and beheaded as a conjuror. "Whereupon," says the record, "the

image became silent, and never was known to tell tales again."

We may add two instances of Genevese justice, which even such a historian as Spon seriously applauds as "rivalling the severity of ancient Rome." A citizen, having been condemned by the Select Council to be publicly whipped for the crime of adultery, appealed to the Council of the Two Hundred. When his process was reviewed, the Council, considering that he had previously been pardoned for the same offence, condemned him to death, to the great astonishment of the criminal, who little suspected such a result of his appeal. A banker was, some time afterwards, executed for the same offence; he died very penitently, blessing God that justice had been so severely observed. To this specimen of justice we must add another of mercy. John Roset confessed on the rack that he had been guilty of the crime of adultery, with which he was charged. He was condemned to death; but one of his judges, pitying the sufferings he had endured, exerted himself to obtain a commutation of punishment; the Council decreed that he should *only* be flogged through the city, and imprisoned for ten years. We find record of a child sentenced to be hanged for cursing his parents; another, to be flogged for saying that his mother was a she-devil; a girl to be excommunicated for putting on boys' clothes, and

her mother for not hindering her; a woman condemned to banishment for singing profane songs to psalm tunes; a man to imprisonment for reading the tales of Poggio; another, for reading Amadis de Gaul; a peasant to the same punishment for swearing at his cattle; and, finally, sentence of close confinement on an Eidgeoss who had said that hypocrisy was the best qualification for election to the Consistory.

The Tribunal of Morals was established to aid the Council and Consistory; it prohibited games of cards, dice, and skittles, dancing, the use of strong wines and expensive ornaments; it prescribed the shape of breeches, shoes, and petticoats, and entered into every minute detail of bed and board. Three jolly tanners were sentenced to be imprisoned for a week, and kept on bread and water, for having eaten three dozen of *patès* at their breakfast, "which was a great excess;" and a man named Chapuis was confined for four days, because he had persisted in having his son named Claude, when the minister had recommended him to call the boy Abraham!

The persecution of Gruet was still more atrocious: he had provoked Calvin's enmity by opposing the French settlers in Geneva, and writing lampoons against their leaders. Calvin laid it down as a principle of his code, in so many words. "All who contravene this (the Reformed doctrine), whether by word or WILL, are rebels against

God, deserving grievous punishment." Gruet was accused of opposing the Calvinistic creed; he was arrested on the suspicion of having posted a libellous placard, which Calvin himself declares was not in his hand-writing; his papers were seized, and the search after these papers was extended to the dust-hole and cesspool! From the fragments thus collected a charge of heresy was framed; he was placed upon the rack, and tortured to the utmost limit of human endurance; he was then dragged to the scaffold and beheaded. Calvin was not yet satisfied; he insisted that Gruet's book, as he perversely called all the fragments of paper found in his lodging, should be formally condemned and burned by the common hangman. The Council was perplexed, and declared its inability to draw up a process against scraps of dirty paper; but Calvin came to their aid, and the paper of instructions with which he furnished the judges is still preserved in his hand-writing in the archives of Berne.

Few subjects would afford more strange revelations of human strength and weakness than the lives of the scholars-errant of the sixteenth century. Next to Servetus, the most remarkable of the class was Sebastian Castalio, whose Dialogues were in his own day considered superior to those of Erasmus. His real name was Chatillon; but he informs us, that while yet a boy, he was declaiming some passages of a Greek

tragedy on the banks of the Saone, which washed his native village, when an unknown voice saluted him by the name of Castalio. A name derived from the Castalian fount dear to the Muses had irresistible charms for the young enthusiast; he adopted it, as he says, "with more pleasure than a lover embraces a mistress," and resolved to make himself worthy of it by renewed literary exertion. His devotion to study was wondrous; he rose before the sun, gave the morning to Greek, midday to Latin, and the evening to Hebrew. At the age of twenty he resolved to travel through Germany, and set out in apostolic guise, for he had neither purse nor scrip, nor two coats, scarcely indeed more than the tatters of one. He maintained himself by giving lessons in the classics, or by correcting the press in towns where there were printing establishments; but the poverty of his appearance, and the ruggedness of his address, often prevented him from obtaining either employment, and he then supported himself, literally, as "a hewer of wood and drawer of water." He informs us, that at this time his greatest luxury was a piece of black bread steeped in milk, but that he could rarely obtain the milk, and was compelled to moisten the bread with water. He bore his privations with a light heart, and even considered this period the happiest of his life.

At Basle Castalio found more regular employment than he had elsewhere obtained; he was

enabled to publish his four books of Biblical Dialogues, which in classical purity of style and language are superior to most of the Latin works of that age. Soon after, he published a Greek poem on the Life of St. John the Baptist, with which Melancthon was so delighted that he made it the subject of several lectures at Wittemberg. Unfortunately, in those days of religious controversy the Muses themselves had become theologians; Castalio's poem entered deeply into the mysterious question of predestination, and he maintained that this doctrine could not be reconciled to the manifest signs of beneficence and justice in the moral government of Providence.

When Calvin was forced to seek shelter in Geneva, Castalio paid him a visit; friendship was soon formed between them, for the pastor of Geneva was able to appreciate the extraordinary learning of his visitor, and Castalio, who was simple as a child, delighted to display his resources to one who understood their value. He gave Calvin some instructions in the languages and in medicine, for the learned wanderer had solaced himself on many a wearisome march by studying botany and the medicinal value of plants, so that, we are assured by his cotemporaries, he had acquired greater skill than most medical practitioners of the time. He rented a garret from Calvin, but was one day unexpectedly ejected "to make room for the servant of

that great lady, Miss de Vergers;" this servant-girl fell sick, Castalio heard that she belonged to his native village, and, notwithstanding, his vexation at her occupying his garret, he attended her gratuitously until she was restored to health.

When Calvin returned to Geneva he obtained the regency of the college for Castalio, hoping that his occupations as a poet and teacher would divert him from religious controversy. But Castalio, like Servetus, had become ambitious of theological fame; he undertook a translation of the Old Testament, which he hoped would rival that of Luther, and in the preface to this work he denied the canonical authority of the Book of Canticles in coarser terms than the occasion required. At this time he was seeking admission to the ministry; the plague had appeared in Geneva; so frightful and fatal were its ravages that most of the clergy refused to enter the pest-house, while he volunteered his medical and spiritual superintendence. The following is the entry on the registry of the city, under the date May 1st, 1543; "Chatillon, or Castalio, the regent of the college, has offered himself as minister of the plague-hospital; several ministers have refused to enter it, declaring that they would sooner go to the devil." The Council seemed disposed to gratify his wishes, and referred the matter to Calvin, as appears from the entry dated the 14th of the following January.

"Mr. Calvin has reported that Sebastian, regent of the schools, is a man of deep erudition, but that he entertains opinions which unfit him for the ministry, and besides that he complains of the smallness of his salary." The Council resolved that Castalio should be admonished to rest content with his emoluments, and to confine his attention to the business of his school. Sebastian easily guessed the source of this rebuff, and, according to the fashion of the times, challenged Calvin to a public disputation. He fought several of these intellectual duels; but one fragment of his orations will serve as a specimen of Castalio's powers. Standing before the Consistory, surrounded by the pastors and elders, and looking firmly on Calvin's impassive countenance, Castalio took for his text the passage from St. Paul, (2 Tim. ii. 24,) "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men." On this he dilated in the following fervid strain: "Are we the servants of God? Look to St. Paul, his true servant! we are the slaves of our appetites and passions. Paul watched night and day over the Church, we spend the night in play; he was sober, we are drunkards; he was chaste, we are debauched; Paul was tormented by seditions, we excite them; Paul was thrown into chains, we fetter those who venture to oppose us; Paul depended on the arm of the Lord, we on the arm of flesh; Paul suffered, we torment others."

After such an exhibition, Geneva was no longer a safe abode for Castalio; he removed to Basle, but he carried with him honourable certificates to his character and ability, both from Calvin and the Council.

It was not long before Castalio took the field in form as a controversialist. He published a work on Predestination, to which Calvin made a bitter reply. Castalio made a still sharper retort; but just at this time his adversary laid himself open by the burning of Servetus, and the ex-regent boldly branded the act as an inexcusable murder. We shall resume the history of Servetus in another page, after we have concluded our account of Castalio. Calvin replied in two tracts of unequalled virulence: one entitled "A reply to certain Calumnies and Blasphemies," the other, "The Slanders of a buffoon." Castalio made a noble reply, which is one of the most interesting pieces of literary history in existence. It is, unfortunately, scarcely known, even to scholars, and there is, therefore, no need of apology for the length of our extracts. Sebastian thus answers what he calls the "farrago of accusations":—

"You have lavished on me, Calvin, in your libel, all the injurious reproaches which hate could inspire; according to your account, I am a blasphemer, a barking dog, an ignorant wretch, an impostor, a debauchee, a charlatan, and a scoundrel. You cry out, May God close the mouth of this Satan! But you forget, Calvin, that you

are the author of 'The Life of a Christian,' which contains such wise sentiments that many have advised me to write and ask if 'The Calumnies of a buffoon' and 'The Life of a Christian,' have issued from the same pen. What then? have I any resemblance to the portrait you have traced of me—am I full of fraud, impudence, blasphemy and impiety? If you knew of these defects, how did it happen that you and your friends, in spite of my reiterated refusals, compelled me to accept the regency of the College of Geneva? How could you, who knew me so well, choose a man so degraded by vice to instruct youth in a city which you are accustomed to honour with the title of Holy? Tell me, what means this flattering certificate of my life and morals, which you placed in my hands when I voluntarily quitted Geneva?

"You reproach me with the support you afforded me at Strasburg! True, I lodged with you for about a week, when I was obliged to cede my chamber to Mademoiselle des Vergers,* who came to visit you with her son and her servants, but I paid you for every morsel I received.

"How cordially you and Beza hate me! you

* This is not the only insinuation against the young lady which Castalio has made; it is not, however, certain that the boy who accompanied her to Strasburg was her son; in one account he is called her younger brother.

believe or pretend to believe every evil said of me, and you give no heed to the good. Your emissaries induce you to receive whatever they please, respecting me: you deceive them as they deceive you, by telling a thousand fables of your own invention. Have you not represented me as a dangerous Cabalist* having at his command a multitude of servants spread over the city and through the country? In fact, duped by your representations, some Frenchmen who came from Strasburg to Basle, expecting to find me in the midst of a crowd of satellites, resplendent with gold, were astonished to behold a poor little man, broken in health, wretchedly clothed, and thinking of nothing but living in peace with all mankind. Though the magistrates refuse to listen to you, still you endeavour to degrade me by infamous charges; you assail my books with revilings and anathemas; you write against me, and you use every exertion to have me deprived of the privilege of reply."

One of the charges which Calvin brought against his former friend, was that of robbery. "Tell me," he demanded in his second pamphlet, "when, sometime ago, with a hook in your hand, you fished up from the Rhine, wood for your fires, did you not feel that you were taking the property of others?"

* Cabalist and Alchemist were in Castalio's age considered as synonymous.

It is scarcely possible to read Castalio's reply without tears. "When I was reduced to the most abject misery, and did not wish to abandon my translation of the Scriptures — for I would have preferred to beg from door to door—I took a crook and searched for the wood floating on the Rhine, which belonged to nobody, and I took home the fragments I fished up, that I might have the means of warming myself and my children in the severity of a cold winter."

Castalio was, in the end, deprived of his situation at Basle, and perished of sheer starvation. The senate, too late recognizing his merits, decreed him a public funeral; but he was not allowed to rest in the grave; the family of Grynæus, in whose tomb he was interred, exhumed his remains, and they would have remained unburied but for the charity of three Poles who had formerly been his pupils; they had the body conveyed to the principal church, and decently interred in a private grave.

Bolsec was another sufferer for opposing Calvin's doctrine of Predestination; a tenet to which his followers were so attached that the Puritans in the English house of Commons once voted "Papists and Arminians capital enemies to the State." Bolsec had the good fortune to escape with life, and we may, therefore, pass over the history of his sufferings to relate the fate of a

more memorable victim, the eccentric and unfortunate Servetus.

We left Michael Servetus (p. 13) safe under the protection of the Archbishop of Vienne, and in possession of ample means for indulging his literary pursuits. The passion for controversy, however, still ruled his mind, and he was particularly anxious for a tilting-match with Calvin who boasted of having formerly frightened him from the list. Chance afforded the means of gratifying his desire; there was a bookseller at Lyons, named Frellon, a dealer in prohibited books, who was in constant communication with Calvin, being secretly the publisher of his works in France. Through him Servetus wrote to Calvin under his fictitious name, propounding some acute objections to certain propositions in the "Christian Institutes." Calvin soon divined the real name of his correspondent, and replied in a tone of contumelious arrogance. Servetus rejoined in the same dictatorial style, but his letter remained unanswered; he was, however, so little aware of the offence he had given, that he complained of this silence to Frellon. He little knew that Calvin had already determined on his death. In 1546, he wrote to Farel: "Servetus lately wrote to me and added to his letter a long volume of his ravings, declaring, arrogantly, that I should find in it new and wondrous matters. He says that he will come here if I please;

but I will not pledge myself for his safety. *Should he come and my authority be of any avail, I will not suffer him to escape alive.*"

Servetus had now devoted four years to the composition of a work, which he finally hoped would immortalize his name; it was entitled "The Restoration of Christianity," and formed an octavo volume of about eight hundred pages of the closest print. It assailed the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and propounded in its stead, a theory which is utterly unintelligible; but it attacked Calvin's system of Predestination intelligibly enough, declaring that the author of such a system could be no better than a stock or a stone. This work was originally offered to Marrin of Basle for publication; but after having read a few lines he sent back the manuscript. Anybody else would have been discouraged; but to Servetus "The danger's self was here alone," and he resolved to have the book printed in Vienne. He went to the house of Arnollet and Gueroult, which was precisely the most thoroughly Catholic of all the printing-establishments in France, and proffered them his work for publication. They asked to see it; the manuscript was produced, and a few pages read; but the printers might just as well have listened to so much Arabic or Chinese; the specimen was so profoundly metaphysical, that it was impossible to discover the slightest clue to its object or

purpose. Servetus saw the difficulty of the worthy printers, and removed it in a moment; "The work," said he, "is a refutation of the errors of Calvin and Melancthon; it is sure of success, provided we keep secret the name of the author, the printers, and the place of publication; I will defray the expences, and correct the proofs;—moreover, I will give you a hundred crowns in addition, as a bonus." All that Arnollet and Gueroult understood was, that the book was directed against two arch-heretics; they could not have suspected that Servetus assailed heterodoxy and orthodoxy at the same instant, and whatever other doubts they might have had were removed by the promise of the hundred crowns.

An edition of eight hundred copies was printed; the books were distributed to the principal publishers in France and Germany; a portion of them being sent, of course, to Frellon, at Lyons, with the compliments of his friend "Villonovanus, Doctor of Medicine," which, as we have said, was the name that now sheltered Servetus. Frellon being about as much puzzled by the author's abstruse reasoning as the worthy printers, sent some copies to Calvin, as being a work in which he was likely to feel an interest. He was not mistaken, Calvin felt deeply interested in the matter, and resolved on the instant destruction of Servetus. He, a Protestant minister, and an

exile for conscience sake, denounced Servetus, as a heretic, to the Inquisition.

It is only by comparing D'Artigny's researches in the archives of Vienne with those of Galiffe in the records of Geneva that we can trace the crafty means which were employed by Calvin to effect his purpose. Among the refugees at Geneva was Trie, a Huguenot of Lyons, who maintained a friendly correspondence with his cousin, a merchant of that city, and a firm adherent of the Papacy. This cousin was named Ameys; he was very anxious to bring Trie back to his old church, and sometimes pressed him so hard that Trie had recourse to Calvin to assist him in his answers. Under the direction of his pastor, Trie wrote to Ameys that he would never be induced to rejoin a Church which had permitted such blasphemies against the Saviour as had been recently published in Lyons and Vienne. With the letter were sent some leaves of the "Christianismi Restitutio," as a specimen of the blasphemies of Servetus. Ameys laid the letter before the Inquisitor, Matthew Oriz, and he brought it under the notice of the Cardinal de Tournon. A commission of inquiry was issued; the house of Servetus or Villonovanus was searched; but the Commissioners were at fault, for Servetus denied everything, and the printers knew nothing. Michael Oriz induced Ameys to write to his cousin, and obtain the en-

tire volume, of which a few leaves had been laid before him. It had no name attached to it, and, therefore, proved nothing; but Calvin added the letters which had been formerly sent to him through Frellon, and some of the earlier works of Servetus. The Inquisitor was still at a loss, for it might be said that the letters to Calvin were only designed to provoke a mock intellectual combat, which was a favourite amusement with the learned of the day, and he had not the slightest suspicion that Servetus and Villonovanus were one and the same person. This was the point to which Calvin desired to bring the matter; he forwarded proofs of the required identity, and Servetus was of course arrested. The Archbishop and clergy of Vienne pitied the unfortunate man; they connived at his escape from prison, and secretly furnished him with a sum of money to support him in his flight. Servetus left his prison very leisurely, and took the road to Switzerland, intending to make his way to Naples, and resume, under a new name, his profession of physician. On the 13th of July, 1553, he reached Geneva, where he unaccountably remained until the 13th of August. On that day, just as he was preparing for his departure, he was arrested by one of the syndics, instigated by Calvin, to whom his place of residence had been made known by a spy. The prison to which he was now conveyed was far better secured than that of Vienne. The trial,

which was protracted for several weeks, was nothing better than a series of theological disputes, in which the accused was harassed by captious questions, and refused the aid of an advocate. He wrote to the Council, declaring that his prison was a filthy cell, in which he was in danger of perishing from filth and want of clean clothes. The Council mercifully ordered that he should be allowed a change of linen, but Calvin interfered, and compelled the order to be rescinded!

Servetus was arrested on the 13th of August; it was not until the 24th of October that the judges took into consideration the result of the various interrogatories to which he had been subjected. All condemned his opinions as heretical, but a spirited few opposed the sentence of capital punishment, and protracted the deliberation for three days. They were overborne at length by the majority, and the unfortunate man was doomed to the stake. Calvin exultingly records the terror with which the wretched victim heard his terrible doom. "Let not the vile heretics boast of the obstinacy of their hero as of the constancy of a martyr. It was the stupidity of a brute beast that he displayed when he heard his sentence. As soon as it was announced, his eyes became like those of an idiot, then he heaved profound sighs and roared like a madman. He ceased not to shout, in the Spanish fashion, 'Mercy! mercy!'"

All honour be to Castalio for his noble reply to

this indecent tirade! "The warrior," he says, "may tremble at the sight of death, but his fear is not that of a brute. Hezekiah mourned when a death less cruel than that of Servetus was announced to him. Job, that hero of patience, groaned in anguish when his enemies brought him news far less terrible than the intelligence which Servetus heard. And did not Christ himself exclaim upon the cross, My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

Farel was the minister chosen to accompany the victim to the pile. He went early to the prison, and, at his suggestion, Servetus sought an interview with Calvin, which was granted. The Spaniard besought pardon for any offence he might have committed. "God is my witness," replied Calvin, "that I have not held in memory the ills done to me. I have shown mildness to all my enemies, and great kindness to you in particular, which has been answered only by insults. But speak not of me now, I beseech you; there is only time for you to call upon God and retract your errors."

Servetus was silent; Calvin withdrew: the ministers of the law appeared to claim their victim, and the procession began to move from the prison. A halt was made opposite the Hotel de Ville, where the fearful sentence was read aloud; when it was finished, one of the attendants, according to form, struck the prisoner with his staff.

Servetus was so weak, that the blow brought him to his knees. "Give me the sword," he exclaimed, "and not the flames, where my soul may be lost in despair. If I have sinned, it was through ignorance." Farel raised him up, saying, "Confess your crime, and God will have mercy upon your soul!" "I am not criminal," replied Servetus; "I have not deserved death. May God help me, and pardon my transgressions!" "If you go on thus, I must leave you," said Farel. The unhappy man was silent. When he arrived within sight of the pile, he fell upon the ground, uttering the most agonizing yells; he was soon raised up, chained to the stake, a heap of straw containing a large quantity of sulphur was placed upon his head, and over this his book was suspended. In this situation he was kept for a considerable time, while Farel urged him to recant, and save his soul. Servetus made no answer; the pile was lighted, the flames rose, one piercing scream of mortal agony was heard, and all was over.

Calvin foresaw the horror and indignation which the burning of Servetus would excite, and had prepared for his defence by asking the advice of the principal Protestant churches of Switzerland during the trial. Zurich, Schaffhausen, Berne, and Basle joined in recommending that the heretic should be burned. The church of Basle went farther: George David, of that city, wrote letters, under a fictitious signature, in fa-

vour of Servetus to the congregations of Holland and Switzerland: the secret was discovered after his death; his body was disinterred, burned, and the ashes thrown to the winds. Melancthon and Bucer sent letters of approbation to Calvin, and they are usually printed with the Defence, or rather, the triumphant boast, which he had the bad taste to publish.

About the same time, Calvin finally triumphed over the Eidgenoss, or Libertines, as they were called; some of the leaders were executed, and the rest banished, and it was declared a capital offence to propose their recall. He was now the absolute ruler of the republic; his wife had died in 1549, and he remained a widower the rest of his days, devoting himself entirely to study, and to diffusing his principles by the extensive correspondence which he maintained with nearly all the Reformed churches of Europe. In this labour he had the good fortune to obtain the assistance of Beza, a sound scholar, a pleasing poet, and a polished courtier. In his youth, Beza had published some of the most licentious odes and epigrams to be found in the Latin language, and some doubts have been thrown on the purity of his morals during his ministry at Geneva. There is, however, no evidence of impropriety in his conduct, and, probably, the only foundation for the scandal was the contrast between his courtly politeness and the gross rudeness of many of the

other preachers. His treatise "On the Punishment of Heretics," is an elaborate and heavy vindication of Calvin; but there is in all his other writings an ease and elegance which none of the Reformers attained with the exception of Melancthon.

Calvin's literary, epistolary, and ministerial labours, were perfectly astonishing, especially as his health was always feeble, and as he regarded relaxation of almost any kind as criminal. There is, however, no excitement in any of his productions; he scolds in very admirable logic; when he showers opprobrious epithets on adversaries, there is a coolness in their use and a steadiness in their application which contrast powerfully with the impetuous and boiling passions of Luther. If Calvin wishes to crush an enemy, he calls him "a dog;" when the enemy makes a bold fight, he calls him "a mad dog," and describes his biting, barking, &c.; he rarely gets beyond the single metaphor, and even when he does, takes care to let the reader see that he has not lost his temper. In such a case, Luther would have identified his antagonist with Satan, then changed him into a lion, a serpent, a toad, derived some score of metaphors from each transmutation, and have expended all his animosity before he got to the end of the sentence. There was something amusing in the extravagant satire of Luther; but the virulence of Calvin is con-

centrated and terrible. Even his hand-writing bears the impress of sternness; it is perpendicular and sharp, like a piece of stenography, and full of contractions, which render it very difficult to decipher. In his latter years, he generally dictated to a secretary, which saved a world of trouble to his correspondents. The letters which have been preserved amount to several thousands; they are the most dry and spiritless compositions imaginable, not a passage in them exhibits pity, sympathy, or tenderness of heart; he looked upon events as irresistibly decreed, and instead of rejoicing or lamenting on what he believed beyond human control, he viewed them as a logician does the premises of an argument. His resolutions were inflexible; we have seen that he had determined upon the death of Servetus seven years before the Spaniard fell into his power; with equal firmness he set himself to establish in Geneva, the Theocracy, of which, at an early age, he had described the ideal model in his "Christian institutes," and to the latest hour of his life all his energies were directed to prevent any deviation from that model.

Coldness and severity, were equally remarkable in Calvin's character and in his system. No Reformer was so sternly opposed to the use of statues, pictures, and ornaments in churches; he would not listen to the arguments so often urged by the moderate Lutherans that "images are the

Bible of the man who cannot read." He was equally insensible to the beauties of the fine arts, and of nature. When he visited Italy, he did not bestow a glance on the triumphs of genius accumulated around him, nor a thought on the classic reminiscences connected with that country. During his entire residence at Geneva, we can find no allusion to the sublime scenery that was daily before his eyes; the mountains, the rivers, the lake, the eternal snows of the Alps, and the brilliant verdure of the fields, were to him as if they had never existed. "It would seem," says one of his eulogists, Paul Henry, "as if God had condemned him to pass his life in the steppes of Tartary, or in the forests of the North." This asceticism was one great source of his power while he lived, and of his influence after his death; it seemed to his admirers to place him beyond the pale of ordinary humanity, and to present him to the imagination not merely as an inflexible lawgiver, but as the personification of inflexible law. Some of his eulogists have gone so far as to state that Calvin never changed an opinion; this, however, is not true, and it would not be to his credit if it were, for it would show him to be incapable of profiting by experience. On one subject, unfortunately, he changed his mind for the worse; when first the "Christian Institutes" were published they contained an eloquent argument in favour of tole-

ration, to part of which Servetus appealed from the depths of his dungeon. Here is the passage: "Though it may be wrong to form friendship or intimacy with those who hold pernicious opinions, yet must we contend against them only by exhortations, by kindly instructions, by clemency, by mildness, by prayers to God, that they may be so changed as to bear good fruits, and be restored to the unity of the Church. And not only are erring Christians to be so treated, but even Turks and Saracens." To retain such passages after a Protestant inquisition had been established in Geneva, would have been to preserve the record of his own condemnation, and they were, therefore, cancelled by the author in subsequent editions.

The doctrines of Predestination and Election, were so strenuously supported by Calvin that they have become associated with his name, and he is usually regarded as the originator and author of what is commonly called Calvinism. This prevalent error deserves to be corrected. The questions of Fate and Necessity are as old as the first efforts of the mind in philosophical speculation. The Greeks were taught to believe that the gods themselves were subject to the irresistible decrees of destiny; the Stoic philosophers substituted Fate for Deity, and even Atheists believed in a chain of necessary causation by which events were brought into existence,

in the same manner as physical phenomena by the laws of matter. Mohammed was, at the least, as stern a Predestinarian as Calvin; the irresistible decree of the Institutes was anticipated by the Table of Destiny in the Koran; if we go into the more remote East, we shall find the same doctrine professed by the most influential philosophic sects on the banks of the Ganges, and by the most popular of the sages that anciently flourished in China. The question of Predestination is, in fact, more a philosophic problem than a subject of religious belief; it touches religion only when it is brought into contact with another question, "Man's responsibility for his actions." It is not necessary to inquire how far Calvinism has a tendency to produce Antinomianism, because, in point of fact, the most extravagant lengths of belief in Predestination have not produced profligacy of life. On the contrary, Fatalists have generally been the most rigid and severe of moralists; such was the character of the Stoics in Greece and Rome, of the Pharisees in Judea, and of the Puritans in Scotland and England.

Neither was Calvin the first who endeavoured to combine the doctrine of Predestination with Christianity, and form from both a system of election and reprobation. The attempt was early made in the schools of Alexandria, and the speculations of the Greek fathers were introduced into

western Christendom by St. Augustine. We are not among those who are disposed to defer to Augustine's authority; we hold it to be easily demonstrable that he founded his doctrine of Predestination, as forming a part of Christianity, on a complete misapprehension and misapplication of texts. But this is not the place for entering into the controversy: our only object is to show, what Calvin himself has very broadly stated, that the union of the Pagan, or philosophic, theory of fate with the doctrines of the Gospel, was attempted and accomplished long before Calvin was born. The Predestinarian creed was, in fact, adopted by him and Beza, when they were studying the works of St. Augustine at Bourges; we learn from Calvin's writings that the terrible consequences of this doctrine pressed heavily on his mind; he feared that he had been stamped by the decree of reprobation. Referring to this anxious, we might almost say agonizing, period of his life in later times, he says, "O God! as often as I descended into myself, or raised my soul to thee, an extreme horror seized me which no sacrifices or expiations could remedy." A miraculous interposition, he subsequently declares, revealed to him that he was one of the elect, and drew him out of the slough of Popery.

It would be curious to inquire how it happened that most of the men who have effected great

revolutions in the world, have been rigid Predestinarians;—Mohammed, St. Bernard, Calvin, Cromwell, Frederic the Great, and Napoleon, are familiar instances, and the list might easily be extended.—"It was written in the table of destiny," was a consolation for every calamity they endured, and an excuse for every evil they inflicted. Perhaps they might have been conscious of moments in their career, when a slight and, apparently, trifling circumstance, would have altered their entire course of life, and that the vast importance of the result, led them to believe that the direction of the event was not fortuitous. It was very likely that Mohammed should reject a belief which ascribed to a happy combination of chances, the elevation of a camel-driver to the dictatorship of Asia; and that Cromwell should look beyond human causes for a connection between the events which raised a burgess of Huntingdon to be the arbitrator of Europe. It is easier to trace the influence of the Predestinarian creed in producing coldness of heart, inflexibility of temperament, and a callous indifference to human suffering. Cromwell relates, in his despatches, his atrocious massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, with as little of human feeling or sympathy as if he had been describing the slaughter of a sheep or a bullock: Napoleon's bulletins are the most passionless of imperial effusions; and St. Bernard treated the

dreadful waste of life in the crusade which he had preached, with a callous indifference which few readers of the history can emulate.

The chilling effect of this creed on Calvin's life and writings, is everywhere manifest; it is particularly striking in his references to the Bible: he loves to dwell with a gloomy satisfaction on the extirpation of the idolatrous nations of Canaan, the hewing of Agag to pieces by Samuel "before the Lord in Gilgal;" the massacre of Baal's priests by the command of Elijah; but he had no sympathy for the lessons of mercy and love inculcated in the Gospels. His commentary on the Psalms is deeply sullied by these marks of a stern, vindictive, and remorseless nature; it is clear that he applied every denunciation against the Babylonian oppressors of the Jews, and every threat against the enemies of Israel, to those who had attempted to control his power, or refute his arguments. It must, also, be remembered that his heart was not humanized by the domestic affections; we have not being able to find an allusion to his mother, to the home of his childhood, to the joyous scenes of youth, or to the sympathies of his playmates, in his letters or his works. He chronicles the death of his father, and his only child, with the indifference of a stranger; and his lament for his wife, is expressive of regret for the loss of a nurse rather than of a partner.

It has been strangely-enough asserted, and believed almost by everybody, that Calvin's system of Church-government is more directly opposed to Popery than any of those adopted by the other great Reformers. In truth, it is more immediately derived from Popery, properly so called, than any of the others. The "platform" of his system is the monastery; his object was to make a Church of monks and nuns bound to all conventual asceticisms, with the single exception of celibacy. Hence arises his extravagant admiration of St. Bernard, which is manifest in every page of "The Institutes." Bernard was no less hostile than Calvin, not only to the amusements but to the elegancies of life, and, in both cases, the proscription of recreations may plausibly be attributed as much to ill-health as to an ascetic disposition, for men are always ready to renounce and even prohibit the enjoyments for which they have no relish. The rules of Calvin's consistory are taken, with very little alteration, from those of Bernard's convents, and they go very far towards solving the problem how people might be made as miserable as possible. It was not the first time that Monkery was combined with Judaism: some such efforts may be found in the history of the Alexandrian church, and even in that of the Egyptian Jews before the Christian era.

The last ten years of Calvin's life were em-

bittered by an accumulation of wasting and painful diseases, slowly but steadily increasing in their intensity. As his strength declined, he began to discover signs of a change approaching in the highly-artificial, not to say unnatural, system which he had established, and this filled him with more grief than all his bodily sufferings. The discipline of Zwingle was restored in Zurich; the doctrine of Predestination, was rejected at Berne; the Huguenots were driven from Lyons, and murmurs against the usurpations of the consistory were heard in Geneva. "The future terrifies me," said he, "I dare not think upon it; for, unless the Lord descend from heaven, barbarism will swallow the Church. May God grant that your children may not regard me as a prophet!" But this prospect did not even suggest to him the propriety of averting such a consummation, by relaxing the severity of his rigid rule. He still insisted, as Guizot happily expresses it, "on imprisoning the conscience in the consequences of an argument." His system had been elaborated by a continuous process of reasoning, and he feared that the abandonment of any part would bring discredit on the whole.

On the last Sunday in February, 1564, Calvin, who had never allowed pain or sickness to interfere with his ministerial duties, appeared in the pulpit for the last time. A violent fit of cough-

ing cut short his sermon, and he was supported out of the church. On the 27th of March he made his last appearance in the council, leaning on two friends; he made an attempt to speak as usual, but the effort was too great for his strength; he could only murmur, "I am dying; nature can do no more." On the 2nd of April, being Easter Sunday, he was taken to the church, where he received the communion from the hands of Beza: it was his last appearance in public. His weakness increased rapidly; his head and right side were assailed by paralysis, and, at the request of his friends, he made his will. This document is chiefly remarkable for an earnest assertion of his favourite doctrine of Election, and for the proof it affords of his moderate fortune. On the 27th, the members of the council came to receive his last farewell; his strength rallied when they came into his room; he addressed them at some length, recapitulating the circumstances of the many arduous struggles in which they had been engaged together, the dangers they had shared, and the blessings they had won. His concluding words were, "Persevere, walk continually in the ways of the Lord, and by the light of His holy word." He addressed the ministers and preachers in nearly the same terms: "God," said he, "will preserve the city and the Church in the doctrines I have taught. You know that I am by nature weak and timid, yet

by His aid I have overcome all enemies without and within."

Farel, though himself broken down by age and infirmity, hasted to Geneva when he heard of his friend's danger; on the road he received the following letter, which we quote, as it is almost the only one in which the writer makes an approach to tenderness:—

"MAY it be well with you, my dear and excellent brother, and since it has pleased God that you should remain here after me, live, remembering our union, of which we shall enjoy the fruits in heaven, since it has been profitable to the Church of God on earth. I do not wish that you should fatigue yourself for me. I respire with great difficulty and expect my breath to fail every hour. It is sufficient that I live and die in Christ, who is a gain to his disciples in life and death. I recommend you and the brethren with you to God.

"Entirely yours,

"JOHN CALVIN.

"From Geneva, May 2nd, 1564."

Farel, however, came, embraced his friend, bade him a last adieu, and left him to the care of Beza. On the 19th, Whitsun-eve, it was customary for the ministers of Geneva to sup together. At Calvin's request they met in his apart-

ment, and he was placed on a couch at the table. In a short time, however, he became so weak that it was necessary to remove him to his chamber, and, as he was borne out, he said, "Be comforted, my brethren; a wall will not prevent my spirit from being in communion with yours." On that same night a new attack of paralysis deprived him of the power of speech and motion, but he lingered on to the 28th of May, when he breathed his last, within six weeks of his fifty-fifth birthday. His funeral was modest and unostentatious; the council, the ministers, and the chief citizens of Geneva followed his remains to the grave, and his panegyric was pronounced by Beza, who succeeded him in the government of the Church. The system which Calvin established was long dominant in all its intolerance at Geneva; the college which Calvin had founded, supplied ministers and teachers to most of the Reformed states of Europe, and the city was honoured with the title of the "mother of Protestantism."

In the year 1566, the condemnation of James Paul Spiffamè for heresy excited scarcely less attention than the execution of Servetus; he had been Bishop of Nevers, but having embraced the Protestant religion, he sought shelter in Geneva, and was admitted to the rights of citizenship. Some suspicion arose that he wished to be reconciled again to the church of Rome; he was arrested on the charge, convicted, as it is said,

on his own confession, and put to death. It was, however, believed by many that his chief crime was an offence against Catherine de Medicis, whose influence with the syndics produced his execution. At a later period, (1624,) we find an edict issued prohibiting the Lutheran form of worship, and some German exiles who had sought shelter in the city, were compelled to remove into the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, where they obtained that toleration from a Catholic prince which had been refused them by a Protestant republic. Many of the English Puritans fled to Geneva during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; the French Huguenots migrated thither in periods of calamity, as did also converts to Protestantism from Italy, and German families terrified by the vicissitudes of the thirty years' war. Hence it was commonly said in England, that "Geneva was as much the metropolis of Puritanism as Rome was of Popery," and, in France, that "the chief pastor of Geneva was the Pope of the Huguenots." But though so many of the citizens were exiles, suffering for the sake of religion, yet, in the year 1632, a new case of persecution occurred, in which cruelty was so blended with absurdity, that it must not be passed over without notice.

Nicholas Antoine, a native of Berry in Lorraine, was descended from a Jewish family converted to Christianity, but still preserving some reve-

rence and attachment for their ancestral religion. As he grew up, he manifested a strong inclination towards Judaism, so much so that he applied to the Jews of Metz to be received into the synagogue with the usual ceremonies. They referred him to the Jews of Venice, and these, in their turn, remitted the consideration of the case to the Hebrew consistory at Padua. It was finally resolved that a compliance with his request would be dangerous; he was recommended to dissemble and live amongst the Christians, remaining a Jew in his heart. Antoine satisfied with this advice returned to Geneva, where he rose to be regent of the college, and minister in one of the principal churches. The first suspicion of his orthodoxy was raised by his lectures on the prophecies; he followed Servetus in declaring that the predictions applied to Christ by the Evangelists actually related to other persons, and he adopted the Rabbinical readings and system of interpretation in opposition to the Christian. The dreams of the Rabbis, and the tales of the Talmud, are so far removed from the regions of intelligibility that it is not wonderful to find Antoine's aberrations for a long time passed over without notice, and still less wonderful that such a course of study ended in downright madness. He lost his senses, wandered raving about the fields, and came barefooted into the city uttering the most horrid blasphemies. He was placed in the public hos-

pital of the city, and after some time discharged as completely cured. In a few weeks, he renewed his frantic denunciations of Christianity and was arrested; the magistrates now took the case out of the hands of the physicians; they ordered the wretched maniac to be tortured; he confessed everything which they pleased to lay to his charge, and he was sentenced to the stake. The only mercy granted was that he should be strangled before the pile was kindled. This piece of barbarous folly threw such ridicule upon the council of Geneva, and so many persons avowed their disgust at seeing the ravings of insanity made the subject of capital inquiry and punishment, that the spirit of persecution was broken, and the disgraceful exhibition of the burning of heretics was not again displayed in the city.

During the Civil wars between Charles I. and his parliament, the Church of Geneva manifested a warm interest in the cause of the Puritans, and hence Cromwell, immediately after his accession to the Protectorate, entered into friendly relations with the Republic, which he associated with himself in the honourable duty of protecting the Vaudois. After the restoration of Charles II. several of the English republicans sought shelter in Geneva, and thus continued the intimate connection between Calvin's church and British non-conformity, to about the period of the accession of the house of Hanover.

From the time of the synod of Dort, the influence of rigid Calvinism in Geneva began to decline, and, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the principles of religious freedom began to acquire an increasing ascendancy. In the course of a few years the Republic had all but annihilated the Consistory, and Geneva was proverbially the least Calvinistic of Protestant cities. The creed for which Servetus had been burned was not only professed openly, but was no disqualification for office, either in Church or State, and at this hour the old metropolis of Calvinism has become the citadel of Unitarianism. To such an extent has this sad re-action proceeded, that when the doctrine of the Trinity was lately impugned, none of Calvin's successors undertook its defence, and the task devolved on Mr. Malan, an Arminian, or Methodist, divine, who, in Calvin's days, would probably have shared the fate of Servetus.*

We have entered thus fully into the history of the system established in the Reformed Church of Geneva, because it was the model chosen by a powerful body of church-reformers in this country, and is, even in the present day, re-

* We cannot refer to Mr. Malan's work without expressing a hope that it may be translated; it is the production of a scholar, a gentleman and a Christian, written in the true spirit of that charity which not only "*believeth* all things," but also "*hopeth* all things."

garded by many as the nearest approach to ideal perfection attainable by a Christian establishment. Those who examine the system calmly and dispassionately will easily see that many of its rules aimed at objects which could scarcely ever be attained in their perfection, and which would not be desirable even if they were attainable. It is, then, a question how such a system became popular with men of such strong minds and sincere piety as the leaders of the Puritans, and what were the features in Calvin's monastic Judaism which led them to prefer its stern coldness to the episcopacy of the Anglican church.

At the age of the Reformation, the Reformers had to solve the very difficult problem of determining to what person or body the ecclesiastical supremacy should be transferred after it had been withdrawn from the Pope. Three courses were open; it might either be entrusted to the state; to a council of bishops, or other ecclesiastical officers; or to a synod of preachers and elders. In England, royalty led the way, and episcopacy aided in bringing about the religious revolution; the monarch necessarily became the head of the Reformed Church, as having been the leader in its reformation, and the bishops retained their authority because a large section of their order had taken an active share in the popular movement. But there were many who expected that the destruction of the Papal power would be literally

followed by "the reign of the saints upon earth," they hoped for a spiritual republic, in which the elect should possess the sole dominion, and hold it by tenure of divine right. They believed that this dream was realized in the Church of Geneva, and they endeavoured to establish the same system in England, without pausing to consider how far a spiritual republic was consistent with a temporal monarchy. The danger to which the doctrines of the Reformation would have been exposed in England, had the reign of Mary been much longer protracted, necessarily led many to dread the supremacy of the State over the Church; there were others who suspected the Protestantism of Elizabeth, and a still greater number who feared that James I, out of respect to his mother's memory, might be disposed to show favour to the Papal creed. These men stigmatized any concession of ecclesiastical power to the crown as sheer Erastianism, and raised a question which was not solved until the lapse of a century,—What would be the consequence if a Popish monarch should become the head of a Protestant Church?

The power possessed by the preachers of Geneva, who were virtually the sovereigns of the state, appeared to the English and Scottish exiles something very like "the reign of the saints upon earth;" they lived in days when toleration was deemed sinful, and, assuredly, it was a sin which could not be imputed to Calvin and his associates;

the minute and petty meddling of the Consistory seemed to them only a desirable enforcement of religious duty, and they only erred in degree beyond many who thought that people could be made pious and virtuous by Acts of Parliament. Under these circumstances, it was natural that a Puritanical party should be formed in England, and equally natural that it should be viewed with jealousy, if not with hostility, by the ruling powers. It was not altogether without reason that James I. assumed as an aphorism, "No bishop; no king."

When the Puritans triumphed over Charles I, the Presbyterian preachers believed that the time had come when their beloved Geneva platform would be established in the land; but wherever the attempt was made, it encountered a strenuous resistance from the sturdy common sense of the people. Presbyterianism only triumphed to fall; the hour of its success was the crisis of its existence: even John Milton denounced the new clergy as more tyrannical than the Episcopalians to whom they succeeded, and pointedly remarked that "Presbyter was but old Priest writ large."

On the other hand, the Episcopal church was never more popular than in the hour of its greatest adversity; the very persons who had taken a most active part in its overthrow, and who had bound themselves by solemn league and covenant to its destruction, lamented its yielding to make

room for a rigid system of vexatious interference with the privacy and the decencies of life. Independency was the final conqueror in the struggle; not because its elements were of a less stringent character than those derived from the example of Geneva, but because the Presbyterian preachers no sooner saw power placed within their grasp, than they began to practise a system of inquisitorial tyranny, the most abhorrent to the character of Englishmen, who, above all nations of the earth, entertain the strongest aversion to any attempt to interfere with their domestic concerns. Men were not aware of the deep reverence which they themselves entertained for their national institutions until they made the experiment of changing them; then they found that the constitutions of Geneva were somewhat like the Alpine snows,—very well to admire from a distance, but exceedingly uncomfortable to all who may be doomed to live in the midst of them.

The case of Scotland was altogether different; there Royalty and Episcopacy were both arrayed against the Reformation; neither could recover the popularity which they had lost by their opposition, and the power wrested from both was shared between the nobles and the preachers. The Reformation in England was a monarchic, in Scotland an aristocratic, and in Geneva a democratic movement; the last of course gave most power to the

clerical body, for after the expulsion of the Bishop and the overthrow of the Duke of Savoy's power, the influence of the preachers could alone save the republic from anarchy. Calvin's system was nominally established in Scotland, but it never was harmonized with the existing institutions of the country. So long as the nobility, or, at least, a large section of the nobility, stood arrayed with presbytery against the influence of the crown, the discordance between the code of Geneva and the rule of an aristocracy escaped detection. But the battle of Dunbar put an end to the fancied "reign of the Saints," and Charles II. followed the policy of Cromwell in preventing its revival. The Cameronians were the only consistent Covenanters; they adhered to the rigid Calvinistic system; but they were abandoned by their countrymen, and a compromise effected between the presbytery and the aristocracy. It is not necessary to extend our inquiry to the Churches of Holland; enough has been said to show that the Calvinistic system is impracticable, and has failed wherever it has had a fair trial. We have next to consider its influence on the early history of the Church of England.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM AND THE PURITANS.

"NONCONFORMITY," says Fuller, "in the days of King Edward was conceived; afterward, in the reign of Queen Mary (but beyond sea at Frankfort), was born; which, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was nursed and weaned; which, under King James (I.), grew up a youth; but towards the end of King Charles's reign shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with, but conquer the Hierarchy, its adversary." The founders of Conformity, according to the same authority, were "such as remained in England all the reign of Henry VIII, and weathered out the tempest of his tyranny at open sea, partly by a politic compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves." At the accession of Edward VI. these men possessed, or soon acquired, the best preferments in the church; they evinced an earnest anxiety to check the progress of change; they retained many of the Romish ceremonies, either from a reverence for their antiquity, or from a prudent anxiety not to

shock the old prejudices of the people by sudden and striking innovations. The authority of Cranmer and the activity of Ridley headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of Conformity. Opposed to these were men who believed that the sole desire of Henry VIII. was to make himself Pope, instead of the Bishop of Rome, and who founded this suspicion on his persecution of those who oppugned any of the obnoxious doctrines of the Latin church. Many of the latter class had fled from the sanguinary law of the Six Articles into Germany or Switzerland; they returned late into England, and were generally treated with neglect. They were "only supported with the reputation of being confessors, tendering their patience to the praise, and their persons to the pity, of all conscientious persons." There were, in fact, two Reformations struggling together for establishment in England; the one monarchic, the other democratic; the former relying for its support on power, the latter seeking strength by courting popularity. John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was the first who unfolded the standard of Nonconformity in the English Church. His patron, Dudley, Earl of Warwick, better known in history as the powerful and unfortunate Duke of Northumberland, was disposed to favour a greater amount of changes in ecclesiastical doc-

trine and discipline than the Protector, Somerset. The farther the people of England could be removed from their old religious habits and associations, the more easily would the great political revolutions be effected which this nobleman's ambition had planned. The introduction of a new religion was likely to facilitate the establishment of a new dynasty, in an age where religion and politics were intimately blended; and hence the Dudleys were zealous patrons of those who advocated extreme measures of reform, so long as the English crown was an object of hope and ambition to this aspiring family. When Hooper came to be consecrated he refused to wear the usual episcopal ornaments, and produced a letter from Warwick authorising the dispensation with these and some other ceremonies. Bishop Ridley immediately refused to officiate, and even sent Hooper to prison for his obstinacy. In the end, Hooper submitted; but thenceforward there was bitter enmity between him and Ridley, until the pressure of a common persecution reconciled them in the days of Mary. "Thus," says Fuller, "when froward children fall out and fight, a good parent and a good rod do quickly make them friends." Mary, indeed, was no good parent, but she amply compensated for the deficiency by the excellence of her rod. Latimer appears to have shared in Hooper's objections to vestments, for he never

resumed his bishopric, from which he had been ousted in the time of Henry VIII.

"Whilst mutual animosities," says Fuller, "were heightened betwixt the opposers and assertors of the liturgy, Providence put a period, for the time, to that controversy in England. Such who formerly would not, soon after durst not, use the Common Prayer, mass and Popery being set up by Queen Mary in the room thereof. Thus, when children fall out and fight about the candle, the parents coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide their differences in the dark." The comparison of the worthy chronicler is not quite accurate: Mary supplied the place of the candle by the light of the fire, and this proving too hot, as many of the children as were able took to their heels and ran away. Among the fugitives was William Whittingham, who was born at Chester, in 1524, of an old and wealthy family, holding a high rank among the gentry of the north of England. He was educated at Brazennose College in Oxford, and, in 1547, he was made one of the senior fellows of Christ Church, on its foundation by Henry VIII. Having obtained leave to travel for three years, he visited the south of France, where he made the acquaintance of some of the Huguenot leaders, and became a convert to their principles. He returned to England a little before the death of Edward VI, and made himself so very remarkable for his zeal in advo-

cating the extension of the Reformation, that on Mary's accession he deemed it prudent to remove immediately to the continent. A further reason for his flight was probably his advocacy of Lady Jane Grey's title to the crown; for Hooper appears to be the only Puritan who had the boldness to oppose the Dudleys and support the rights of Mary.

Whittingham came to Frankfort, whither he was soon followed by such a number of English fugitives, that they resolved to establish a Church, and obtained the necessary permission from the Senate. It was stipulated that the French Protestants should be joint-proprietors of this church, and that the English "should not dissent from the French in doctrine, or ceremonies, lest thereby they should minister occasion of offence." In pursuance of this agreement, the refugees abrogated the greater part of the ritual, which had been established in the Church of England, and did not hesitate to stigmatize what they had omitted as "superfluous and superstitious." This proceeding gave great offence to other bodies of the English exiles; the congregation at Zurich, determined not to recede one whit from the liturgy used in England under the reign of Edward VI; the congregation at Strasburg did not exhibit quite so much obstinacy, but still insisted on retaining the substance of the Book of Common Prayer, and a warm controversy arose

between the three congregations. John Knox was at this time an exile in Geneva; his pamphlet, called "The first blast of the Trumpet," written to show that the government of women was opposed to the law of God, and to the well-being of society, and in which he had quoted as examples, Mary, Queen of England, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Mary of Lorraine, Queen-dowager of Scotland, had exposed him to almost equal danger in England, France and Scotland; for it was, in fact, a direct incentive to treason in all three countries. The congregation at Frankfort invited him to become their pastor, he accepted the offer, and immediately took part with Whittingham in denouncing the English ceremonies and the Book of Common Prayer. Knox was not regarded as a very high authority by the English exiles; he found himself under the necessity of submitting the matter in dispute to John Calvin, and he, therefore, transmitted to Geneva a "platform," or description of the English liturgy as established by Edward VI. Calvin's answer was curious; he says, "In the Anglican liturgy, such as you describe it, I find much endurable nonsense." As this oracular response was not very intelligible, he adds, "there wants much of the purity to be desired in it. These vices, though they could not at the first day be amended, yet seeing that there is no manifest impiety in them, they might be tolerated

for a season. It was, therefore, lawful to begin with such rudiments, or *abécédaires,* but only on the condition that learned and godly ministers of Christ should enterprize further, and set forth something more free from Popish dregs and rustiness." This letter was deemed decisive, and the English liturgy was banished from Frankfort. Knox's aim was to make Frankfort in all respects a copy of Geneva, but he had to deal with a congregation composed of gentlemen and scholars, who would neither submit to the coarse rigour of a consistory, nor receive as oracles every opinion of a usurping pedant.

In this state of things, Dr. Richard Cox, who had been tutor to the late King Edward, came to Frankfort with a new company of exiles. He was a man of courtly manners, high spirit, and great learning; it is probable that he shared the dislike with which Knox was regarded by a large portion of the English clergy when he visited the court of Edward, a feeling which Knox fully reciprocated, for his description of them is replete with acrimony. On the very first occasion of public worship, Cox and his friends gave great offence by repeating the responses aloud, according to the English fashion, and on the following Sunday, one of their party, without the previous consent or knowledge of the congregation, ascended into the pulpit, and read the entire litany. Knox was highly offended; on

that very afternoon, he took for the subject of his sermon, "Noah's nakedness in his tent," and connected with this singular theme an exposure of what he described as the impurities of the English liturgy, declaring that all who favoured it should, so far as his power extended, be excluded from the congregation.

No portion of this extraordinary discourse has been preserved, but it is evident to every person that the connection which he made between his text and the English liturgy, however ridiculous from its absurdity, and revolting from its indecency, must have been still more offensive from its insolence. The English, even of his own party, could not endure so gross an offence against what had been their national form of prayer; Knox and Whittingham were left in a small minority, and they would soon have been expelled, had they not made an appeal to the Senate of Frankfort. Glauberg, through whose means the English had obtained leave to form a congregation, declared for Knox, informing the exiles that "as he had opened the church-doors to them, so would he close them again, unless they observed the pure Reformed order."

That men, exiled from the same country and for the same cause, should bring scandal on themselves and on their religion by such violent and bitter disputes about matters which both parties confessed to be non-essentials, excited great dissa-

tisfaction among the great body of the Protestants. Some lamented their obstinacy, others ridiculed their absurdity, and many threatened to withdraw the contributions they had hitherto made for the support of the exiles. It was supposed that poverty might dispose them to peace, and that when benevolence was withdrawn from abroad, they might be disposed to cultivate so valuable a commodity at home. Distress, however, only increased their animosity. Cox, like many others, believed that Calvin aimed at becoming a kind of Pope;—his flatterers, indeed, openly called him the new Moses, who should legislate for the children of God,—and he dreaded lest the yoke of Geneva should be found even more intolerable than that of Rome. Knox, on the other hand, refused to admit of any compromise, and, in imitation of Calvin, threatened to use the secular arm against all who refused submission. The Anglican party resolved to deprive him of this aid; they accused him to the Senate of high treason against the Emperor, producing a sermon which he had formerly preached in England, and in which he had roundly said that "the Emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero." This sermon, which had been published under the title of "An Admonition to Christians," was, in fact, an exhortation to rebellion against every sovereign in Europe; it was written under feelings of high excitement, and in that strain of

vulgar virulence to which the Scottish Reformer was, unfortunately, too prone; but the sermon had been preached several years before, in another land, when Knox owed no allegiance to the Emperor. There was great meanness in exiles of his own land and religion bringing such a charge against him; but the Senate of an imperial city could not refuse to take cognizance of it, if the accusers persevered, and Knox was civilly informed that his safety required his departure from the city.

Whittingham was now left in a minority, but, nevertheless, he made a vigorous stand against the ascendancy of Cox, and triumphed over him in what was deemed a very essential point, the choice of a title for the head of the congregation. *Bishop* was the first proposed, but it was rejected because he was to be the chief not of a diocese but of a congregation; *Superintendent* was declined, as having the same meaning as *Bishop*, being only the substitution of bad Latin for good Greek; *Minister* was deemed too low a name for a person having the charge of souls; and, finally, *Pastor* was selected as the title most expressive of the office, and least obnoxious. But if Whittingham gained in the title, he was completely defeated in the choice of officers: all Knox's friends were removed, and their places supplied by partisans of the English liturgy. The defeated section took the title of "the op-

pressed congregation." Cox and his party had greatly weakened them by appealing to the old English prejudice against foreign innovations, declaring that they wished to import the fashions of strangers. On the other hand, Whittingham asserted that Cranmer had prepared a book of prayer a hundred times more perfect than the liturgy used in King Edward's days, but was prevented from presenting it by the wickedness of his clergy. The disputes ran so high, that, at length, the two congregations divided. Whittingham and his minority retired to Geneva, where, for some time, they enjoyed the ministry of their old pastor. When Knox was recalled to Scotland, Whittingham was elected to take his place, and was ordained by the presbytery of Geneva. In the meantime, those who remained at Frankfort engaged in a new series of disputes, which only terminated when the congregation was dissolved by the death of Queen Mary.

The exiles of Geneva employed themselves in making a new translation of the New Testament into English, because they regarded the existing versions as designedly coloured for the purpose of favouring Episcopacy. Whittingham took the lead in this pious labour, and Calvin gave him all the assistance he could afford. The version which is commonly called "the Geneva Testament," is, on the whole, a very faithful translation, though in some passages the sense is strained

to support the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, and the marginal notes, which were more directly intended for the same purpose, are thoroughly sectarian. It was long received as a standard by the Puritans, but was gradually superseded by King James's Bible, our present authorised version, which, indeed, was undertaken mainly to check the progress of the Geneva Testament. A facsimile of the original edition has been recently published, and a comparison of this with the common version will give some notion of the verbal criticism on which the opposing parties rested their articles of faith.

The accession of Elizabeth recalled most of the English exiles home. Cox, who had taken so leading a part at Frankfort, was appointed Bishop of Ely; and this led his opponents to fear that they might be regarded as schismatics in England. For this reason, and also to complete the publication of the New Testament, Whittingham remained for several months at Geneva after his companions; and when he returned, instead of publicly exercising his clerical functions, he obtained a chaplaincy in the household of the Earl of Bedford. From the service of this nobleman he was transferred to that of the Earl of Warwick, brother of the powerful Leicester, through whose influence he was appointed to the Deanery of Durham in 1562.

The King's will had been the standard of faith

in the reign of Henry VIII, and Elizabeth would willingly have kept the same power over doctrine and discipline; indeed, something like such authority had been early conceded to her by Act of Parliament. But Elizabeth's religion was a matter of uncertainty to herself and to all around her: policy was the chief guide to her choice of a national creed, and hence she seems often to have changed her opinions, or, rather, her course of action, in relation to Romanists on the one hand, and to Puritans on the other. Her reasons for disliking both were the same: they held principles inconsistent with allegiance to her crown. The Catholics could not recognize the legality of the divorce of Catherine of Arragon; consequently, in their view, Anne Boleyn was not Henry's lawful wife, and Elizabeth was illegitimate. Pius IV. opened negotiations for reconciling Elizabeth to the Church, and, through Vincent Parpalia, addressed her as "his most dear daughter in Christ;" but he omitted the necessary preliminary of repealing the bulls issued against her mother's marriage, reserving this boon as a source of profit in a future bargain, while Elizabeth justly regarded it as the only proof that could be given of the Pope's sincerity.

Had Elizabeth been reconciled to Rome, it is very doubtful whether she could have carried the nation with her. A new nobility had been formed, endowed with the spoils of the Church,

possessing the sympathies of the middle class, from which they had sprung, determined to defend the properties they had acquired, and jealous of the claims which the Church might make for a restitution of its spoils. It was in this body that the Puritans found strength and protection; there were many at Elizabeth's council-board anxious to treat the possessions of the Bishops as Goneril and Regan did the servants of Lear; to make successive reductions of their dignities and estates, until at last it would become a question "What needs one?" Elizabeth not unreasonably believed that the maintenance of Episcopacy was necessary to the continuance of Royalty. She knew that the church of Geneva, which the Puritans declared to be their model, was not only essentially republican, but could not be perfectly established except in a republic; she was aware that while Romanists denounced her darling supremacy as heresy, the disciples of John Knox condemned it as Erastianism; she had not forgotten "the first blast of the trumpet," and she had been very plainly menaced with another.

The prelates, generally, united to check the progress of Puritanism at its first outbreak; they felt that the outward signs of ecclesiastical dignity could not be discarded without the peril of the dignity itself falling into oblivion and desuetude. They were, however, obliged to act with great prudence and caution, for the supply of clergy-

men was miserably inadequate to the wants of the community, and had they, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, made episcopal ordination necessary to public ministration, they would have left two thirds of the congregations in England altogether without pastors. This was the reason why Whittingham, who had only lay-ordination, was permitted unchallenged to enter on the deanery of Durham, and to retain it unmolested for several years.

Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, had been an exile during the Marian persecution, and had adopted many of the prejudices entertained by the Continental Reformers against the ceremonies of the English Church; he did not, therefore, enforce conformity on his clergy, and the dean conducted the service of the church after the fashion of Geneva. Hence Ward in his "Reformation" says,

> "Wood, Williams, Whittingham and Sutton
> Valued the Prayer-book not a button;
> The liturgy they grudg'd to say,
> And threw the Prayer-book quite away;
> Alter'd confession, chang'd the hymns
> For old Jack Hopkins' petty rhimes."

But the dean's zeal for Geneva purity was shown in a more questionable manner, according to Anthony Wood and George Davies:—"Most of the priors of Durham have been buried in coffins of stone, and some in marble, and each coffin covered with a plane of marble or free-

stone, which lay level with the paving of the church, he caused some of them to be plucked up, and appointed them to be used as troughs for horses to drink in, or hogs to feed in. All the marble and freestones also that covered them, and other graves, he caused to be taken away and broken, some of which served to make pavement in his house .... Within the said abbey-church of Durham were two holy-water stones of fine marble, very artificially made and engraven, and bossed with hollow bosses on the outside of the stones very curiously wrought. Both these were taken away by this unworthy dean, and carried into his kitchen, and employed to provide uses by his servants, steeping their beef and salt-fish in them, having a conveyance in the bottom of them to let forth the water, as they had when in the church to let out holy water." Whittingham, however, was not alone in contriving to unite hatred of idolatry with domestic convenience, for we find that Elizabeth was obliged to issue a proclamation against the defacing of monuments, and the removal of church furniture.

In 1564, an edict was issued, commanding the use of the proper sacerdotal vestures to the clergy. Bishop Pilkington and his dean, wrote to the Earl of Leicester, deprecating this measure; Whittingham, however, went far beyond the prelate, arguing the question with a zeal and

vehemence which not a little tended to defeat his object. Notwithstanding this acrimony, he submitted to the law, and when reproached by some more consistent brother for such a compliance, he sheltered himself under the authority of Calvin, who had called the English ceremonies "endurable fooleries." This contemptuous description of the national ritual would probably have brought him into trouble, but for the good services he rendered to the government during Northumberland's insurrection; but the memory of these services was effaced when a book appeared written by a violent Puritan, Christopher Goodman, expressly denying the right of government to belong to a woman, with a preface by Whittingham, strongly recommending the doctrines it contained. Sandys, Archbishop of York, who was as strenuous a supporter of conformity as Parker or Laud himself, determined to put an end to the irregularities in the church of Durham, and proceeded thither in his visitation of 1577. He required that Whittingham should give proof of his having received ordination according to legal form. The Dean, supported by the chapter, denied the archbishop's right of visitation, and Sandys was forced to apply for a royal commission to investigate the point in dispute. Puritanism had now gained such strength that the liturgy which had been prepared for the use of the English congregation in Geneva, was read in

many of the churches instead of the authorized Common Prayer, and *prophesyings*, or irregular sermons, though forbidden by royal proclamation, were tolerated by some prelates, and encouraged by others.

The system of Geneva, or as it now began to be called, "the holy discipline," was chiefly patronized by the beneficed clergy. This circumstance, little noticed by our ecclesiastical historians, was peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth, and was most observable in the earlier part of it, when the Marian exiles were, with little previous examination, chosen to fill the places of Romish recusants. As these men had imbibed in the schools of Geneva a thorough conviction that the national system was unscriptural and injurious to the progress of evangelical truth, it might have been expected that the enforcement of the system would have induced them at once to surrender their professional appointments. Some ministers in London actually did so, and established the Geneva *platform* of discipline at the village of Wandsworth, in Surrey. But many, even of those most conspicuous for their violent condemnation of the Anglican system, continued, like Whittingham, to hold their appointments, while they openly manifested their determination not to comply with ecclesiastical order. They hired some humble curates to read prayers and administer the sacraments, refusing to tarnish

their own consistency by submitting to ecclesiastical ordinances, and were then hailed by admiring audiences as "Preachers and No-sacrament ministers." They even stigmatized the very curates they employed as "*reading* and ministering ministers," and even inveighed against them from the pulpit as "Statute-Protestants," "Injunction-men," and "such as loved to jump with the law."

Even in Elizabeth's reign, many difficulties arose from the want of a recognized governing power in the church, considered not as an establishment, but as a society. Archbishop Whately's admirable remarks on this subject, though directly addressed to modern controversies in the church, are not less applicable to ancient dissensions, and tend to explain how the Puritanical dissensions in the reign of Elizabeth led to the overthrow of the Church by Cromwell. When addressed by some clergymen of Dublin on the propriety of permitting certain practices which were a virtual revival of the ancient prophesyings, he directed the attention of the memorialists to "the impossibility that the Church can subsist much longer (I do not say as an endowed *establishment*, but as a *society*) *without a government*. How long could the civil community subsist if Parliament were to fall into desuetude, and the society were held together merely through the agency of justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other such functionaries? It would soon be found,

first, difficult in many cases to *enforce* even the clearest laws; secondly, much more difficult to ascertain the law in any doubtful case; and thirdly, quite impossible to *add, amend,* or *abrogate* any law, however palpable the need.

"Such is the situation of the Church;—nearly, though not entirely, the situation in which it has existed more *years* than a civil community could *weeks.* I cannot think it can subsist as it is much longer. The whole frame-work of the society seems loosening daily and affording daily fresh advantages to the external dangers that assail it.

> "Accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt."
>
> "The vessel reels, her starting planks gape wide,
> And through the seams is pour'd the angry tide."

It seems not to be generally known that Puritanical opposition actually undermined many usages which the predominant party in the Church at the time of Elizabeth was anxious to retain, and which a considerable party in our own days appears even more anxious to restore. We may take for example the Eucharistic elements. In King Edward's first service book, it was directed that the officiating minister should use wafers of unleavened bread. In the second, the minister is *allowed* to use the best wheaten bread procurable. Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, treating the second rubric as merely permissive, enjoined the use of the wafer, which was popularly

called "a singing cake." But Edward's second book had Parliamentary sanction which the Queen's injunctions had not, and, therefore, when the matter was brought to trial in Norfolk, about the year 1574, Serjeant Howerden charged the jury that there was statutable authority in favour of the common bread. "This opinion," says Strype, "was very distasteful at court," and, indeed, it was not legally sustainable, for it treated a permissive rubric as if it had been mandatory. The question, in fact, was never settled, and wafers continued to be used in several churches, and particularly in Westminster, until the time of the Long Parliament.

The custom of women wearing a veil at church, and that of tolling a bell before corpses to obtain the prayers of the passers-by for the departed spirit, were observed in some churches but not in others. They have long since sunk into desuetude, though they never were prohibited by any legitimate authority. The observance of fast-days was another ordinance against which the Puritans directed not a little of their zeal, with such success, that the fishermen presented a memorial to the council complaining of the injury their trade had suffered. An order was issued, directed to the primate, enjoining the customary attention to Ember and fish-days; but this ordinance was so worded as to gratify the Puritans, for it declared, that this form of fasting was

enjoined, "not for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore used, which are utterly detested, but only to maintain the mariners and navy of this land, by setting men a-fishing."

Whittingham's case was a striking example of the want of a definite ruling body in the Church. The question at issue was one of membership, essentially belonging to the church as a society, and with which the secular power, viewed as such, had no right to interfere. Archbishop Grindal had previously complained of the Queen and council determining questions of ecclesiastical discipline without consulting divines, but Sandys had much more reason to be dissatisfied, when the trial of the validity of an ordination was referred to a royal commission.

The commissioners were Sandys himself, Hutton, dean of York, and the Earl of Huntingdon. Whittingham, after an obstinate resistance to the jurisdiction of the commission, was at length put on his defence. He pleaded his ordination at Geneva, which Sandys indignantly rejected, but which the two other commissioners declared themselves ready to recognize. Dean Hutton declared that "his brother of Durham, had been ordained in better sort than Sandys himself, and than most of the ministers in England." Huntingdon wrote to the Lord Treasurer: "It could not be but ill taken of all the godly learned both at home and in all the Reformed churches abroad,

that we should allow the Popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of the ministers made in a Reformed church." So great was the influence exercised by the Church of Geneva, that Sandys was forced to explain to the Lord Treasurer, that he did not attempt to deny its ecclesiastical character. "The discredit of the Church of Geneva," he says, "is hotly alleged. Verily, my lord, that Church is not touched. For he hath not received his ministry in that Church, or by any authority, or order, from that Church, as far as can yet appear." The archbishop assumed that Whittingham was "a mere layman" until he proved the contrary. The dean pleaded that he had been called to the ministry by "lot and election," or, as he, subsequently, said, by "the suffrages" of an English congregation, and that "he was admitted minister with such other ceremonies as there is used and accustomed." Sandys did not, as some have asserted, question the validity of orders conferred by a presbytery, though Archbishop Whitgift, at a later period, refused to recognize such ministerial commissions. The point really mooted, was, whether "a call" could be considered as an equivalent to an ordination, and to prove the negative, Sandys appealed to the authority of Calvin himself, who had not permitted the case of Whittingham to be drawn into a precedent. There is every probability that the case would

have been decided in Whittingham's favour, but for his premature death, (June 1579,) before the commissioners had finished their labours, or we should rather say, their disputes. But Dean Hutton and the Earl of Huntingdon had declared in his favour, and he had warm friends in a majority of Elizabeth's council. In a few weeks after Whittingham's decease, the opposition which the Puritans made to Elizabeth's proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou, brought upon them the full force of the royal indignation. Stubbe and Page were each deprived of their right hands for pamphlets published against the match, and a circular was sent to the clergy prohibiting them from referring to the topic in their sermons. Many of her council also cooled in their support of the Geneva discipline; its advocates, too ostentatiously put forth the doctrine that the civil power should be subservient to the consistory, and the great body of the aristocracy became alarmed at the boldness with which some of the preachers inveighed against fashionable vices, and alluded to circumstances of private life. Dread of Popery, and the great increase of the severities exercised against the seminary priests, for a time prevented the parties that divided the Church from displaying their mutual animosity, for the Puritans were content to adjourn their own claims to toleration so long as the government hanged a few Romish priests

as an edifying spectacle. But after the defeat of the Armada, the prelates on the one side, and the Puritans on the other, felt that a common hatred of Popery was rather an uncommon bond of love, and began to assail each other with more fury than ever. The first grievance of which the Puritans complained, was the abatement of the persecution against the adherents of the Romish Church; they looked upon every approach to toleration as an abandonment of the "godly discipline" which they had imported from Geneva; and some went so far as to declare, that if the government slackened in the execution of the penal laws, it was the duty of the people to take the matter into their own hands. Thus Goodman wrote: "If the magistrates refuse to put mass-mongers and false preachers to death, the people, in seeing it performed, do show that zeal for God which was commended in Phineas' destroying the adulterers and the Israelites, against the Benjamites." Another, addressing the bishops, said, "Presbytery must prevail, and if it come to pass by that means, which will make your hearts to ache, blame yourselves." The appointment of Whitgift, the most violent opponent of the Puritans, to the see of Canterbury, was regarded by the party as a declaration of war. They appealed to the public in a variety of libellous pasquinades, printed at an ambulatory press, which travelled from one obscure corner

of the kingdom to another, and in each place struck off a variety of stinging satires, bearing the name of Martin Mar-prelate. These were answered in a style of similar ribaldry by the libelled churchmen, and it would be hard to decide which party exhibited most proficiency in the Billingsgate school of theology.

The Puritans privately established their system of consistorial discipline: but, when they began to put their rules in force, they found some unexpected difficulties, which afforded no small share of merriment to their adversaries. As was the duty of members of a consistory, they began to search minutely into the lives of each other, and, as everybody takes delight in detecting the sins of his neighbour, and is grievously indignant at the exposure of his own, there was an edifying exhibition of mutual reproaches and revilings, which broke up the meetings in most-admired confusion. It was thus when a lady came to the Rev. Charles Wesley, describing herself as "the worst of sinners," and he, who justly suspected her sincerity, replied, "Indeed, madam, I believe you are bad enough," that the fair penitent, flew into a furious passion, and would have boxed his ears, had he not hastily made his escape from the apartment.

Puritanism became every day more odious to Elizabeth, as its preachers began to claim the privilege of the Jewish prophets and rebuke the

conduct of their sovereign. She, perhaps, felt that recognizing any one of them as a modern Elijah would be a confession of some resemblance between herself and Jezebel, a parallel, indeed, which was suggested in several libellous pasquinades. With true Tudor policy, she resolved to decide controversy by the rope and gibbet; Udal, who, though a strict Puritan, was a moderate controversialist, was selected as a victim; lawyers were easily found who could get up a case of constructive treason at a moment's warning; it was held that writing against the bishops was virtually writing against the Queen, whose officers they were, and, of course, it was easy to procure a capital conviction on such liberal interpretation of law. Udal was condemned, but his death in prison saved him from the disgrace of a public execution. It has pleased some worthy persons to assert that he would have been pardoned by the Queen; they choose to forget that Udal was not the only victim; that Barrow and Greenwood were hanged for controversial attacks on the Liturgy, which did not go beyond the limits of fair argument, it being held that this was tantamount to libelling the Queen through her ecclesiastical supremacy.

No one can read the several "platforms" of discipline which the English Puritans borrowed, more or less directly, from the Church of Geneva, without perceiving that they wished to invest

their consistories with far greater power than ever had been possessed by the Vatican: "The inquisition of the Consistorie," says Sutcliffe, "is like the Spanish inquisition and the Papal proceeding. For as in the Spanish inquisition, so in the Consistorie, a man is called, knoweth no accuser, and whether hee confess or not, hee is sure to abide the order of the Consistorie, and *what they command the civil judge performeth.* And, therefore, if all must away that is borrowed from the Pope, away must the Consistorie goe, with their excommunication of princes and their absolute tyrannie."

We have already seen that Calvin's idea of Church-government was a Theocracy, such as existed among the Jews before the establishment of the Monarchy, while his English followers appear to have contemplated such a Theocracy as existed under the kings. They claimed for their preachers the privilege of prophets in directing the punishment of those who refused to conform to what they deemed the only pure system of religion, continually appealing to the precedents of Samuel "hewing Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal," and of Elijah's destruction of the priests of Baal. They did not ask for toleration, they claimed absolute ascendancy over all others. The contest between them and the Episcopalians was a struggle for existence; and no one can doubt that the Puritans, if they

had obtained the upper hand, would have punished nonconformity far more rigorously than the prelates. Elizabeth's bishops could fairly have pleaded the excuse which has passed for a plausible defence of exclusive laws in our own days, that "intolerance had no claim to toleration." The world was not yet ripe enough for the discovery that the withholding of toleration produced the very evils which were pleaded in its justification. It was no doubt utterly absurd to attempt the erection of an establishment, according to the Geneva pattern, in a country where the sovereign and the aristocracy had already shown a fixed resolve not to submit to any ecclesiastical domination; but it was no less a blunder to leave the entire question of Church-government so undefined, that it was necessary in every dispute respecting doctrine or discipline to appeal to the secular power. This was the great source of the popularity which the Puritans had in the Commons; the third estate in England was just beginning to struggle into political existence, and it naturally allied itself with principles which were democratic in themselves, and which were, like it, opposed to the powers of royalty and aristocracy. It was in vain that Bancroft and others pointed out that a Consistory would impose a heavier yoke on opinions and actions than Prelacy, or even than Papacy, the people wished to have the privilege of tyrannizing over them-

selves, and were willing to pay the highest price for the luxury of persecution.

Puritanism was even popular in its rigourism. For many centuries Saturday had been known as the Sabbath in documentary and learned languages, but a large party suddenly transferred the designation to Sunday, for the purpose of impressing the necessity of observing it with Jewish strictness. This was, indeed, to be expected from men who avowedly made the Jewish theocracy the model of their "platform," but there was palpable inconsistencey in this transfer of obligation and disguised sophism of name. Yet the innovation was received with enthusiasm, and the extravagant sanctity claimed for Sunday was such, that men who did not adhere to the Calvinistic rigour were classed with the worst of offenders. Heylin informs us, "It was preached at a market-town, *that to do any servile work or business on the Lord's day was as great a sin as to kill a man or commit adultery.* In Somersetshire, *that to throw a bowl on the Lord's day was as great a sin as to kill a man!* In Norfolk, *that to make a feast or dress a wedding-dinner on the same was as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat;* and in Suffolk, *that to ring more bells than one on the Lord's day was to commit as great a sin as murder.*" Such extravagant nonsense would have defeated itself had not the prelates thought proper to interdict Dr. Bound's

Treatise, in which sabbatarianism was rigidly advocated, because the author had chosen to assail the yearly festivals of the church. Bound at once became a favourite with the people; the ecclesiastical authorities recommended the continuance of those sports in which the people had been accustomed to indulge after church-service; but it became a point of pride not to be merry at the bidding of a bishop. "The more liberty people were offered," says Fuller, "the less they used it, refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them. For the vulgar sort have the actions of their superiors in constant jealousy, suspecting each gate of their opening to be a trap, every hole of their digging to be a mine, wherein some secret train is covertly conveyed to the blowing up of the subject's liberty, which made them almost afraid of the recreations of the Lord's day allowed them; and seeing it is the greatest pleasure to the mind of man to do what he pleaseth, it was sport for them to refrain from sports, whilst the forbearance was in themselves voluntary, arbitrary, and elective, not imposed upon them." "The vulgar sort" had not Bound to blame for their error; while he preached in his book the necessity of exacting from them the most rigorous asceticism, he distinctly stated that this strictness was not to extend to noblemen or persons of distinction, whom he justified in a continuance of the liberty sanctioned by immemo-

rial usage. The opposition of the bishops to Calvinistic sabbatarianism was not the only instance in which men have fought the battles of the poor in spite of the poor themselves; it was not until the experience of puritanical rigour had shown how severely a Judaical observance of Sunday interferes not only with the enjoyments and comforts, but with the health and morals, of the labouring population, that the English nation refused to submit to the yoke of the consistories.

The steady rejection of Calvin's policy and discipline, alienated the English establishment from the Reformed churches in France and Switzerland; when Beza applied for pecuniary aid to enable the Genevese to resist the Duke of Savoy, he found little sympathy in the higher ranks of the clergy, and none whatever in the court. The Puritans loudly complained that England had abandoned her proper place as head of European Protestantism, and this very cry, probably, increased Elizabeth's reluctance to give active support either to the Huguenots of France or the Gueux of Holland.

We must not quit this subject without noticing the doctrinal change in the English clergy, which arose imperceptibly from the controversy respecting discipline, though the subject is not quite in accordance with the general character of our work, and will also require us to extend our

views a little beyond the reign of Elizabeth. During the controversy respecting the externals of public worship, and the discipline of the church, the doctrines of Geneva had passed without question, and Calvin's "Christian Institutes" continued to be regarded as the great standard of Protestant theology. Even Whitgift, the most decided enemy of the Puritans, was strongly attached to the Calvinistic divinity, and superintended the framing of the nine Lambeth articles, which, if adopted, would have excluded any but the most rigid Calvinists from the Church of England. King James, who detested presbytery with his whole heart and soul, was not less hostile to the principles usually called Arminian, and urged the synod of Dort to punish all who held them as heretics. Still, even in Elizabeth's reign, we can find among the English clergy a growing disinclination to the rigid doctrines of election and predestination; the Lambeth articles, which asserted these points in the form most revolting to their opponents, and in more direct terms than Calvin himself would have deemed prudent, were tacitly rejected by the great body of the English clergy, and would have been only so much waste-paper, had they not been adopted in the Irish Church, which, from the commencement, evinced a greater leaning to Puritanism than the Church of England. The abandonment of Calvin's doctrines gave the greatest provoca-

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tion to his partisans, so that a Puritan House of Commons voted Arminians as well as Papists capital enemies to the state, but this doctrinal controversy was less interesting than the contest for subjecting the Church to a pontifical democracy, and giving the power wrested from the Pope to a Consistory instead of to the sovereign.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT AND DR. CARTWRIGHT.

The history of the Puritan controversy would be incomplete without some notice of the two greatest champions that appeared on either side; they may fairly come within the scope of this work if it be recognised that there is such a thing as the romance of controversy, which all who have waded through the lumber of antiquated disputations will readily acknowledge. In Whittingham's contest with Sandys, the external forms of religion were at issue, but the questions of discipline and church-government were only obscurely mooted. Cartwright may be considered the great leader of those who sought to introduce the discipline of Geneva, which he had learned to admire during a visit to that city. Before leaving England he had been hostile to the use of cap, surplice, and ecclesiastical ceremonies, he returned home with a stern enmity to the whole system of English church-government. Cartwright was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Whitgift was the Master, and also Vice-chancellor of the Univer-

sity; circumstances, therefore, placed them in such a position, that Whitgift had no alternative but to be the follower or the adversary of the propositions which Cartwright brought from Geneva. There is little interest in the squabbles of a college; it may, or it may not be true that the Master of Trinity was jealous of a Fellow, whose sermons were so popular that when his turn came at St. Mary's the sexton was obliged to take down the windows; this is a matter of perfect indifference, for Whitgift's first proceeding, the expulsion of Cartwright from his fellowship, was rendered necessary by the refusal of the latter to take priest's orders, as he was bound to do by the statutes. Neither is the Vice-chancellor to be blamed for prohibiting Cartwright and his followers from occupying any pulpit within his jurisdiction; the sermons of the Puritanical party had degenerated into such personalities, that the heads of the university complained to Archbishop Parker of "the licentiouse and contestiouse manner of preachinge, used now-a-days at Cambridge, by divers younge preachers, who are not afraide to impugne openlie in pulpitt, not onlie the booke of common service; but also particularlie discribe and name men of all degrees, both honorable that be absent, and other that be present, according to the license of the old poetes."

The appearance of the "Admonition to Par-

liament," of which Cartwright was partly the author and wholly the advocate, in 1572, was the first absolute declaration of the Puritans that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the platform of Geneva. Never did a bolder manifesto issue from a party which was at the time but a minority; it plainly claimed, not mere toleration, but exclusive existence, that "Antichrist might be turned out headlong, and Christ might reign by His word." It assailed every part of the constitution of the Church of England with a scurrilous virulence hitherto unparalleled in Britain, assuming a tone of offensive superiority, and affecting to speak in the name and by the authority of the Divinity. A letter from Beza was published at the same time, as if the authority wrested from the Court of Rome had been transferred to the Consistory of Geneva; and it would seem as if the party had expected that their plan needed only to be propounded in order to meet universal acceptation.

Whitgift was engaged by Archbishop Parker to reply to the Admonition; he did so with great acumen: Cartwright undertook its defence, and a sharp war of pamphlets ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. The solid advantages, however, remained with Whitgift; he obtained a bishopric, and Cartwright was, for a time, compelled to seek safety in a foreign land. It is curious to find that neither of the dispu-

tants perceived the political tendencies of the doctrines they advocated, though Cartwright incidentally gives utterance to the sentiments of a democratic republican, while Whitgift contends for the absolute despotism of monarchy; still less did they discover the inconsistency of the doctrines which each advocated; the republican insists on the establishment of a fixed standard in doctrine and discipline, from which no deviation should be permitted, while the absolutist insists on the advantages of a limited religious freedom; the political democrat advocated spiritual despotism, and was opposed by the most zealous of royalists.

Whitgift possessed some private fortune, and, therefore, on his appointment to the see of Worcester, though its revenues were not great, he was enabled to gratify his taste for state and magnificence,—a circumstance which gave great pleasure to Elizabeth. Though most of the Queen's council would gladly have reduced the revenues of the prelates to the standard of Puritanical self-denial, in the hope of enriching themselves by the partition of episcopal lands, as Henry VIII.'s courtiers had been by the estates of the monasteries, Elizabeth herself was anxious to maintain the bishops in all the dignity of their rank; she regarded her church as an appendage of her monarchy, and believed that the

dignified appearance of the one reflected honour on the other. Whitgift, by complying with her taste, very rapidly acquired favour, to the great dissatisfaction of many of his brethren on the bench. Aylmer, Bishop of London, once meeting him with a proud train of liveried servants, asked him "how he could afford to keep so many men," to which the Bishop of Worcester replied by a sarcastic allusion to the sex of a portion of his brother prelate's retainers.

Grindal had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury after Parker's death, but he soon fell under the displeasure of his imperious sovereign for his real or supposed puritanical tendencies. It is said, that his first offence was his complaining of the burning of some unfortunate persons who denied the doctrine of the Trinity: Fox also had disapproved this butchery and almost stigmatized it as a repetition of Mary's barbarities. But a far more plausible reason, was Grindal's reluctance to enforce the edicts against "the liberty of prophesying," which was particularly odious at a time when the pulpit was the newspaper of the people, and the chief organ for giving voice to popular discontent. Whitgift was chosen to succeed Grindal, who was bullied into a resignation; but he refused to enter on the office while his predecessor lived. He had not long to exercise forbearance; Grindal died a few months

after his disgrace, a victim to the error of preaching toleration in an age when nobody was willing to practice it.

The new archbishop entered on the primacy at the moment when Puritanism was at the highest point of its daring, when the Mar-prelate libels left even the violence of the Admonition far behind; and when the House of Commons exhibited symptoms of a strong hostility to Prelacy, which could scarcely be kept in check by the direct interference of the crown. Travers's "Book of Discipline," a work far superior to the Admonition, appeared, and was recognized as the standard of Puritanism; and congregations were secretly formed, in which the system was adopted. Appeals were made, as we shall see in the next chapter, to popular superstition; it was declared that the Puritans gave proof of their Divine commission, by casting out devils, detecting witches, and working other miracles, while the regular clergy were forced to shelter their weakness under an atheistic denial of witchcraft and demoniacal possession. The new primate commenced his administration with vigour; Cartwright was arrested, and Lord Burghley had to interfere to prevent Whitgift from presiding at the trial of his old antagonist. Udal, as we have already said, was capitally convicted for writing against the liturgy, and an insane fanatic, named

Hacket, was executed with all the barbarities usual in cases of high treason.

Cartwright's last struggle, was highly creditable to his character. He was called upon to answer thirty-one charges, under oath *ex-officio*. He refused to take any such oath, for the very plain reason, that he was not bound by the laws of God or man to be a sworn-witness against himself. Of course, he was committed to prison, and a new element of controversy was opened by discussions on the legality of the *ex-officio* oath. Whitgift did not directly interfere in this controversy, but he patronized those who wrote in vindication of the oath, of whom Cosin and the Primate's chaplain, Bancroft, afterwards archbishop, were the most noted. Cosin brought an abundance of legal learning to prove that ecclesiastical judges were authorised to examine upon oath parties accused by secret information, or common fame, of penal offences, which were not capital. Bancroft showed that this was the ordinary course of proceeding in the Consistory of Geneva, and formed a constituent part of "the holy discipline," which those who complained were themselves labouring to establish. The common sense of mankind practically refuted both; and the exercise of a power, in all respects similar to that of the Spanish Inquisition, created a general dislike of the High Commis-

sion court, which never ceased until the odious tribunal was abolished.

The Brownists or Barrowists, who may be regarded as the progenitors of the modern independents, or congregationalists, began now to acquire numerous proselytes; they were men who taught that "Presbyter was but old priest writ large;" who equally rejected the consistory and the conclave; and who were just as reluctant to adopt the Geneva platform as the English liturgy. Their principles were not less odious to the Puritans, than to the Prelates, and the former began to abate in their hostility to the church, through fear of the new sect which was everyday a more formidable rival to their popularity. Cartwright was at the least "consenting unto the death" of Barrow and Greenwood, the former of whom declared that he had learned hostility to the established hierarchy from Cartwright himself, and that he had only carried out his teacher's principles to their legitimate consequences. It is probable that such a declaration alarmed the great Puritanical leader; from the time that the government began to persecute the congregationalists, he ceased to attack episcopacy, thus manifesting that hanging was a very important part of his "holy discipline," the concession of which enabled him to bear with patience the refusal of the rest.

Hitherto, the gibbet had been the chief argu-

ment employed against Romish and Protestant nonconformity; persecution was the avowed policy of all parties, and the only question to be decided was which party should have the power of directing the apprehension, torture and execution of dissenters. In this struggle, the Puritans had for many years the great advantage of an intelligible standard, to which they could refer, in Calvin's "Institutes," and Travers's "Book of Dicipline," while the episcopal party had never exactly stated the ground which the Church of England had really taken at the Reformation. Calvin and Beza were the chief authorities in theology; their biblical interpretations of points of doctrine were universally received, and, consequently, the rejection of their authority in matters of discipline appeared to be illogical and inconsistent. The publication of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," was an era in the history of the English Church; it was generally received as the manifesto of the principles on which the Reformation in England had been conducted, and by which the constitutions of the Anglican Church were regulated. It was the first Protestant work in which the theology of Geneva, was not only discarded, but attacked; it exhibited what may be called Anglicanism, as a system, and, we must add, that though it falls far short of the religious freedom which modern times have vindicated, it exhibits a far greater amount of liberality and toleration

than could be found in any other systematic work of divinity in that age.

Nearly contemporaneous with the appearance of "The Ecclesiastical Polity," was the change in the form of proceeding against Dissenters. It was a master-stroke of policy in Elizabeth to proceed against the Romish recusants as civil offenders, to treat them as traitors, not as heretics; she thus got rid of the odious name of religious persecution, while she retained its substance. The Puritans, in their hatred of Brownism, passed several acts against nonconformity which enabled the prelates to bring religion under the cognizance of the common law courts, and thus remove from themselves the imputation of establishing a Protestant inquisition. The cause of civil and religious liberty eventually gained by the change, but, at first, both religion and morality were grossly outraged by the discussion of theological controversies between the dock and the bench; such exhibitions were too often a display of bigotry on one side and brutality on the other; a judge, perplexed by the obstinacy or casuistry of a prisoner, had recourse to volleys of oaths, nicknames and abuse. Sir Edmund Anderson, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the Exorcists, was a sound lawyer, and a man of strong common sense, but he had all the coarseness of a semi-civilized age, and, like all lawyers, he was disposed to interpret Scripture by precedent and acts of parliament, so that when

he presided at the trial of a nonconformist, he attempted to silence the prisoner by violent invective, which tended to bring the clerical order into disrepute.

Whitgift early perceived the advantage which the Puritans had placed in his hands, by sanctioning the principle of trying cases of dissent before civil tribunals. He took a very active part in the elections for the parliament which met in 1597, and secured the return of several persons who were firm in their allegiance to the Established Church. He was himself a landed-proprietor in Kent, which together with his influence as primate enabled him to exercise great political power in that county. No prelate since the days of Wolsey had affected greater state; he had "one hundred foot and fifty horse of his own servants, trained and armed, for which purpose he entertained captains;" and he sent a detachment of sixty men to aid Cecil in suppressing the revolt of the unfortunate Essex, which was a very seasonable reinforcement. In his progresses to Canterbury, he was usually attended by two hundred persons of his own train, which the gentlemen who volunteered to form his escort of honour swelled to above a thousand. The respect produced by such magnificence greatly tended to strengthen the political influence of the established clergy, and to abate the popularity which Puritanism had won.

The Church of England was firmly fixed on its present foundations chiefly by the exertions of Whitgift; but he had reason to fear that his work might be undone by the change of the sovereign: he knew that his success was mainly owing to the zealous support he had received from Elizabeth, who never hesitated to overstrain her royal power whenever she believed that her supremacy was in danger. James, it was feared, might be of a different disposition; it was, therefore, whispered to the vain-glorious pedant that he was either to be the head of a church or the servant of a consistory, according as he preferred the Prelates or the Puritans; and, as James had learned what it was to be subject to a presbytery, he made no difficulty in preferring mastery to servitude. Whitgift "fooled him to the top of his bent;" he had a considerable share in getting up that miserable delusion, the Conferences at Hampton-Court, to which the Puritans were invited, after all their proposals had been branded as seditious by royal proclamation. James answered the Puritans with a strange mixture of buffoonery, pedantry, and common sense, which would have justified Henry IV. in calling him "the wisest fool in Europe." But the King's absurdities were far surpassed by the Archbishop, who did not scruple to declare that "his Majesty undoubtedly spoke by the special aid of God's Spirit." Bancroft went still farther in profane

adulation, and thus by flattering a fool Puritanism was completely defeated at the moment that Prelacy was indelibly disgraced.

Whitgift was not, however, sure of the permanence of his triumph; he appreciated the feeble and vacillating temper of James, he dreaded the influence of the Puritans in the House of Commons, and he must have been secretly disgusted at the circumstances which enabled his party to triumph in the Conferences. Believing that a fresh storm was approaching, he made earnest exertions to prepare for the coming danger; but the exertions which he made, combined with exposure to cold, brought on fatal disease, and he died at Lambeth, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Cartwright expired a short time before his great adversary: he had spent the latter years of his life in preparing a confutation of the Rhenish Testament, a work which was encouraged by Walsingham, and several of the most eminent scholars of Cambridge. Whitgift, however, determined on its suppression; he felt that he had introduced into Lambeth much of the pomp and parade of the Vatican, so that Puritanical shafts directed against Rome would have had some chance of hitting Canterbury in the way. This is a much more plausible explanation than mere literary jealousy of his old antagonist. Whatever may have been the cause of the Primate's prohibi-

tion, it prevented the publication of Cartwright's confutation until many years after the death of both, when its appearance was a sad accusation against the Archbishop's memory, which his warmest admirers refused to defend.

So far as Cartwright and Whitgift were concerned, the contest between Puritanism and Prelacy might be regarded as one of principle; for though the Archbishop made an unscrupulous use of the secular power, the Doctor would have been equally a persecutor if the civil authority had been on his side. But there was another and more amusing phase of the controversy, in which the disputants appealed from earth and Heaven to the tribunal of the infernal regions, to which we shall next direct our attention,—having, indeed, chiefly introduced the present chapter for the purpose of elucidating the points at issue.

JOHN DARREL, THE EXORCIST.

THE sixteenth century was rife with religious controversy, and as guns, swords, gibbets, stakes books, and speeches had failed to settle disputed articles of faith, some very sensible people thought it wise to leave the decision to the Devil. The Venerable Bede assures us that, in his day, Satan had taken a fancy for serving at mass, and had thrown several congregations into confusion by his irregularities in repeating the responses; and an equally respectable authority, the Abbot Theodoric, avers that the Devil, robed as a Doctor of Divinity, preached a sermon at Cologne in favour of Reuchlin, whose writings gave great annoyance to the ignorant bigots of Germany in his day, being, at a moderate computation, nine-tenths of the secular clergy and the whole of the regulars. Notwithstanding these respectable appearances, the Devil met with very scurvy treatment from the clerical body until the age of the Reformation. St. Dunstan pulled his nose, St. Catherine boxed his ears, St. Francis made him hold a candle until he burned his fingers, and St. Bernard made him roll himself up, and serve as a chariot-

wheel. In fact, while the Papacy flourished, without any one daring to impugn its title, the Devil was a cowardly lubberly fiend, whom children kept in order with the criss-cross at the beginning of their alphabet, and whom men regularly cheated in every bargain he attempted to make. Nobody cared a straw for such a despicable foe; the very babes in the nursery began to laugh at him, and he might have sunk into utter oblivion, had it not been profitable to keep his name in reserve for raising a mad-dog cry against any whom it was the interest of the civil or ecclesiastical power to persecute. Of course, witchcraft and the worship of the Devil formed part of the charge against the Albigenses, who were guilty of loving freedom, and the Templars, whose enormity of crime consisted in the extent of their possessions. It was not, however, until the year of our Lord 1484, that Satan excited alarm by his attempt to establish a temporal kingdom on earth, employing as his militia all the old women ugly enough to pass for witches, and supplying them with legions of attendants, whose services are enumerated in the bull which Pope Innocent issued in that year as a declaration of war on the part of the Vatican against the new aggressions and encroachments of Pandemonium. "They do," says the worthy Pontiff, "vex and afflict man and beast with outward and inward pains and tortures; they destroy the fruit of mar-

riage and the increase of cattle; they blast the corn of the ground, the grapes of the vines, the fruit of the trees, and the grass and herbs of the fields."

This goodly array of outrages on the part of Satan's subjects, was clearly sufficient ground for declaring "a just and necessary war;" unluckily, the Popes at this time had dispensed with ecclesiastical parliaments, or we should have had a debate on the message, in which he announced the commencement of hostilities, ending with the unanimous adoption of an address, pledging the members of both houses to support him in the contest with "their lives and fortunes," neither of which they had the least notion of periling in the cause. To most sovereigns, war affords a pretext for giving commissions and employment to needy dependents. "Therefore," says Innocent, "we give power to the Inquisitors and other our Apostolic officers, to convict, imprison, and punish, &c.,"—that is to say, the usual licence of murder and plunder, which is necessary to whet the courage of soldiers in all civilized communities.

The Dominicans had made a very decent profit by their traffic in indulgences, which had set them and the Augustinians by the ears, and induced Martin Luther to wage war on the power that had granted such a monopoly. To prevent the chances of a similar defection, the

conduct of the new war against Satan was chiefly entrusted to the Jesuits; the Inquisitors, indeed, kept their privilege of burning the witches, but the Jesuits undertook the "exorcism of the possessed," which is much the same thing as getting money from those who had any in their possession.

The Jesuit theory of diabolical possession, was very simple: they held, that wherever and whenever the Devil was most powerful over the souls, he and his imps would be tempted to acquire mastery over the body likewise. Hence Delrio, after assigning several reasons why Protestants should be very much in the power of the Devil, goes on to show that the crimes of heresy and witchcraft had always been found in conjunction, basing his reasoning on the statistical fact that the executions for the two crimes, always increased, or decreased in the same proportions. Hence, it followed, that all the countries which had yielded to the pernicious influence of Martin Luther, were subjected to all the evils that witches could inflict upon themselves, or demons upon their children. The only cure was to receive the Jesuits as exorcists, who should cast out devils from bodies and heresies from souls, the preachers of Protestantism being as unable to effect the former miracle as they were unwilling to attempt the latter.

Here was an easy test proposed for settling all

disputes between the Papacy and the Reformation; the only point to be decided was, whether the devil would be most obedient to the voice of the priest or the minister? Many Protestants were willing to accept the challenge; they must have had tolerably strong faith either in the stupidity, or the common honesty of Satan; for nothing would have been easier for a crafty knave than at once to obey the voice of his friends, and gratify them by a show of victory.

All the historians of witchcraft in England, have written as if the great force which this delusion acquired in the reign of James I. was to be chiefly attributed to the follies which that monarch brought with him from Scotland; but, in fact, the foundation for the delusion had been laid by the exorcists in Elizabeth's reign. Before they could persuade people that they could expel devils from the possessed, it was necessary that that they should have some theory to explain the mode by which the devils entered into possession; witchcraft was a cause ready made to their hands, and they adopted it, like sensible people. It is no easy matter to get up a perfectly new cry; there is a danger of some explanation being required; but an old cry, such as "No heresy!" or "No Popery!" has the stamp of old currency upon it, and gets rapidly into unquestioned circulation. The Romish party had rendered the connection between the Re-

formation and witchcraft a familiar sound, and when some of the Reformers themselves took up the cry, it was sure to grow mightily and prevail.

Thus, Protestantism greatly increased the respectability of the Devil; it supplied him with a longer "tail" of followers than the policy or vanity of Daniel O'Connell collected on the first Reformed Parliament, and raised him from the degrading character of an arrant dupe, to that of an original inventor. Archbishop Cranmer set forth Satan's claims to scientific invention with as much precision as if he had been drawing up the specification of a patent. The following is his statement, in his celebrated Articles of Visitation: "*Item*, you shall inquire whether you know of any that use charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft invented by the Devil." Cranmer not only vindicated the Devil's credit, as an inventor of crafts, but very liberally conceded to him adverse possession of the souls of all unbaptized infants; in the form of baptism in the liturgy, 2. Edward VI., we find it thus ordered: "Then let the priest looking upon the children say:—

"I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out and depart from these infants whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy baptism, and hath made members of his body and his holy congregation;

therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels; and presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath baptized with his precious blood, and by this, his holy baptism, called to be of his flock."

This comfortable and complimentary address to the Devil was probably imported from Germany, and formed a part of the extravagancies with which Bucer and his associates disturbed the sobriety of the Anglican Reformation. Elizabeth's bishops were, for the most part, opposed to such rant; they banished the preceding formulary from the prayer-book, and issued a canon to prohibit the performance of exorcism in churches. It is enacted by the seventy-second canon, that "No minister shall, without the licence of the bishop of the diocese, under his hand and seal, attempt, under any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under the pain of the imputation of imposture or cozenage and deposition from the ministry."

The follies of witchcraft and demoniacal possession abandoned by the Episcopalians, were eagerly adopted by the Puritanical party; during Elizabeth's reign, "witch," and "no witch," was as much a controversy between low and high

Church as "bishop," and "no bishop." Unfortunately, in the next reign, the Prelates of the Church of England abandoned the cause of common sense in order to gratify the prejudices of James I.; and as Bishop Hutchinson declares, actually falsified the translation of the Bible in order to favour the royal pedant's darling theory of witchcraft.

Elizabeth's divines have not received their due meed of fame for resisting the popular delusion; indeed, most historians of witchcraft have written as if the founders of the Anglican church had aided to propagate the error because Bishop Jewel, differing from the rest of his brethren, warned the Queen against the peril of witchcraft from the pulpit. But Bancroft, Archbishop of York, and Dr. Harsnett his chaplain, and afterwards his successor, wrote and preached against the belief in witchcraft and exorcism. Jewel has been sadly overrated in modern times; his contemporaries on the bench formed a true estimate of his merits, for they looked upon him as an enthusiast having a decided leaning to the Puritans.

The opposition of Elizabeth's Prelates to the witch-cry raised by the exorcists, was one of the chief causes of the great popularity that the cry obtained. The church of England in Elizabeth's reign had no hold on the affections of the great body of the nation; it was only maintained by

the strong arm of power, and by the zealous exertions of those whom grants of abbey-lands had bribed to its support. Among the middle ranks Puritanism was all but universal, and the Romish religion was the favourite of the poor. Hence there were several insurrections of the peasants to restore the ancient system, and prophecies were circulated that this should be effected by the exertions of working-men. Thus, in the insurrection of 1659, the misguided revolters were encouraged by the following mystic stave:—

> "Hob, Dick, and Hic, with clubbes and clouted shoon
> Shall fill up Duffin dale with slaughtered bodies soone."

The success of the exorcists and witch-finders in Elizabeth's reign is almost the only instance of a national delusion propagated in spite of the opposition of a national church, and we have, therefore, deemed it necessary to give an explanation of the phenomenon.

Dr. Harsnett favours us with a lively description of the qualifications necessary to constitute a witch. "They" (the exorcists) "have shap'd us the true idea of a witch, an old weather-beaten crone, having her chin and her knees meeting for age, walking like a bow leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, untoothed, furrowed on her face, having her lips trembling with the palsy, going mumbling in the streets; one that hath forgotten her pater-noster,[9] and yet hath a shrewd tongue

to call a drab 'a drab.' If she hath learned of an old wife in a chimney-end *Pax Max Fax* for a spell, or can say Sir John Grantham's curse for the miller's eels.—'All ye that stolen the miller's eels *laudate Dominum de Cœlis:* and all they that have consented thereto, *Benedicamus Domino:*'—why, then, beware, look about you my neighbours. If any of you have a sheep sick of the giddies, or a horse of the staggers, or a knavish boy of the school, or an idle girl of the wheel, or a young drab of the sullens, and hath not fat enough for her porrage, or butter enough for her bread, and she hath a little help of the cramp or the epilepsy to teach her to roll her mouth, gnash her teeth, startle with her body, hold her hands and arms stiff, &c. and then with an old mother Nobs hath by chance call'd her idle young housewife, or bid the devil scratch her, then no doubt but mother Nobs is the witch and the young girl is owl-blasted."

Ridiculous as this statement appears, it was received as Gospel-truth by a large number of the grave and learned; demoniacal possession was an article of general belief, and as the means by which the Devil obtained entrance were sufficiently simple, everybody was in alarm at the terrible danger to which he stood exposed. A few examples of the circumstances said to have caused possession will both amuse and amaze the the reader. Thyræus says that the Devil entered

into one maid because "she was in great love with a young man," into another "for that she endeavoured to make herself look like a picture of Venus," into another "for uttering sharp words;" and into another, "because she did with some greediness eat the leaf of a lettuce, (the Devil unknown to her clinging to the nether part of the leaf,) forgetting to bless it with the sign of the cross."

The subjects of John Darrel's exorcising experiments which we are about to investigate, became possessed for offences still more trifling; Catherine Wright, for telling a lie to Mary Roper; William Somers, for refusing an old woman a penny, and Mary Cooper, because she was sister to Somers; "Satan's practice," as Darrel said, "being not to confine himself to one in a family." Thomas Darling's sin was more curious; he was a naughty boy, and one day when he met an old woman named Alice Goodridge in a coppice, he insulted her by offensive gestures and noises; she in anger said,

> Gip with a mischief, and clink with a bell
> I will go to Heaven and thou shalt go to hell;

whereupon her familiar spirit entered into him.

Easily as spirits got in, their ejectment was it seems a very troublesome process. In the year 1574, the operation of exorcism was tried upon an impostor, named Mildred Norrington, by Roger

Newman, vicar of Westwell, and John Brainford, vicar of Kennington. The Devil was very obstinate, even threatened to kill the whole company; at length he confessed that he belonged to old Alice, a crone in the village against whom the girl had some spite, and that at Alice's instigation, he had already killed three people. After a very long course of prayer, he departed, and the girl declared that he would have killed her had he not been expelled in time. The vicars published "a full, true, and particular account of the miraculous cure," but, unfortunately, they also commenced proceedings against Old Alice. The magistrate, Mr. Wootton, happened to be a man of sense, he sent for the girl, and induced her to confess her imposture. She is said frequently to have repeated her feats, illusions and trances, for the amusement of visitors to Mr. Wootton's house, at which the two vicars were justly scandalized.

The first statement of the vicars remained in print, and was not refuted, for Darrel refers to it as an authenticated case of exorcism, and it was, probably, one of the circumstances which induced him to enter on the career of an exorcist. John Darrel, as he tells us himself, graduated as a bachelor of arts in Cambridge in 1583, being then twenty years of age. He began the study of the law, but finding himself too dull to comprehend it, he resolved to turn to Divinity, which, as he asserts, was a subject more level to his capa-

city. Many students before, and since, have deserted the bar for the church from a similar motive, but Darrel alone had the confidence to declare that his stupidity was a miracle, produced by the direct intervention of Providence. He thus relates the circumstance "The Lord, who had long before purposed to employ me otherwise, and in the study of another law, did draw me another way, by laying his hand upon me, in causing a strange and extraordinary sluggishness to fall upon me, being a student of the common laws."

Finding himself unable to acquire a knowledge of law, Darrel assumed the title of "Minister of the Word of God," and became a preacher among the Puritans. Mansfield was his first place of residence; where, he assures us, that he was regarded as "a man of hope," and was, therefore, sought by the friends of Catherine Wright, a girl of seventeen, who, in the year 1586, persuaded her relations that she was possessed by the devil. The symptoms, were, "a swelling of the body, hysterical fits, and spectral appearances." The first vision which troubled her was curious: she went to a well for water, and saw in it the reflection of a child without feet; and, as she afterwards declared in her confession, "being therewith greatly afraid, she began to be more and more troubled in her fancy, supposing that she saw divers shapes and apparitions." It appears, she had a very severe step-father, who "did, for sun-

dry years, use her hardly, in beating and bruising of her very sore," but when she began to have fits "her said step-father made much of her; and she, finding this alteration in her said father's usage towards her, in her fits of swelling did voluntarily make herself to seem worse than indeed she was, by screeching, casting her arms about, starting up suddenly from the place where she sat, and sometimes by falling down, as though she had swooned."

The girl was brought to Darrel to be exorcised. He not only employed fasting and prayer, but other methods, which she thus described in her confession:—"One fashion of Master Darrel in my pretended dispossession at Mansfield was, to lie upon me, saying, that he would, by so lying, press the devil out of me." When Darrel was examined before the High Commission Court, he thus explained this unusual practice: "I, having read in the Scripture how Elias and St. Paul did stretch themselves along on some that were dead, in their recovery to life, and being a young student in divinity, did, in a blind zeal, as is objected." Three days afterwards he gave a different reason. "I did not the said fact to the end there specified; but she being at the time very unruly, I did it to keep her down, there being also at the same time another upon some part of her and upon me, that we

might the rather keep her down." He adds, that his wife was present at the time.

This farce was designed to be a preliminary to a wicked tragedy. At the instigation of Darrel, Catherine accused an old woman, named Margaret Roper, of having sent the devil into her, or rather a whole legion of fiends, for Catherine deposed, "Mr. Darrel told me once that I had devils in me, and I said I knew I had none; but he told me yes, saying, that he heard them speak in me; that were strange, quoth I, seeing I myself do not hear them: why, quoth he, I heard them call themselves in thee Middlecub, and other names which I cannot remember." On this charge Margaret Roper was arrested, and carried before Mr. Foljamb, a justice of the peace. This gentleman detected the imposture, discharged the poor woman, and threatened to send Darrel to prison. The magistrate died soon after; and this event appears to have been represented by Darrel as a judgment on his incredulity.

It was not until after a lapse of ten years that Darrel made his second experiment in exorcism; his subject was Thomas Darling, commonly called the Boy of Burton, into whom the devil had been sent by the delicate rhyme which we have already quoted. An account of the boy's cure was published by Jesse Bee, a saddler of Burton, in which the boy's fits are described with

disgusting minuteness. It is also recorded, that the devil, speaking through the boy's mouth, bore decisive testimony to Darrel's powers, and the efficacy of his prayers. This book appears to have produced a great sensation, and it spread Darrel's fame over the country. His celebrity reached Lancashire; and he was invited to exorcise an entire family, which had for some years suffered fearful torments from the devil and his imps. As this case is very illustrative of the state of society in Elizabeth's reign, we shall detail some of its leading particulars.

Mr. Starkie, of Cleworth, in the parish of Leigh, Lancashire, was married to a lady who was an heiress in her own right. Some of her relatives were Papists, which afforded reasonable ground for believing that her four children were bewitched to death, in order to prevent her estates from falling to Protestant heirs. Mrs. Starkie, having adopted this view of the case, made a conveyance of the lands to her husband, after which she had a son and daughter, both of whom "prospered well till they came to be ten or twelve years of age. They were then attacked by epileptic fits, which were immediately attributed to demoniacal possession. Mr. Starkie, after having spent 200*l.* on medicine and physicians, at length applied to a wizard and Papist, named Hartley, who, "having used certain Popish charms and herbs, by degrees

the children were at quiet, and so continued a year and a half." George More, a friend of Darrel's, who likewise describes himself as "a minister and preacher of the word of God," avers that he had investigated all the circumstances of the case; and we shall, for the most part, follow his narrative. Hartley's presence was necessary whenever the children were attacked, and Mr. Starkie gave him a pension of forty shillings annually, on condition that he would remain in the neighbourhood. The wizard after some time demanded a larger grant, which was refused. In revenge, he made Mr. Starkie suffer grievous torments, but afterwards cured him by making him efface "a circle, the compass of a yard and half, with many curves and partitions," which Hartley had drawn on the ground. This charm was a cunningly devised trick to put Mr. Starkie more into the wizard's power. In a few weeks after Hartley sent his devils into the bodies of Mr. Starkie, his sister, both his children, two young ladies, his wards, and two of the servant maids; and he soon after added to his list of victims a lady who came on a visit. "His manner was, when he meant them a mischief, then he would kiss them if he could, and therewith breathe the devil into their bodies."

The lady-visitor, Mrs. Margaret Byrom, on her return home to Salford, applied to Hartley for relief, and he came to see her every day. "Some

preachers found him with her, and suspecting him by some signs, asked him what he did with the maid. He said that he came to pray with her. 'Pray!' quoth one; 'why, man, thou canst not pray.' 'Yes, but I can,' quoth he. 'Then, say the Lord's Prayer,' said the preacher; and he began to fumble about it very ill-favouredly, but could not for his life say it to the end." So suspicious a circumstance justified his apprehension; and as Lancashire did not possess such magistrates as Mr. Foljamb, the unfortunate man was sent to Lancaster jail. At the following assizes he was tried and convicted; he denied his crime on the ladder; but the rope having broke, he was said to have confessed his guilt before he was finally hanged.

Hartley's execution did not cure the children; they continued to have "very rare and strange fits." John Starkie on these occasions displayed extraordinary knowledge, "for he being but of age, or thereabouts, did in his trance declare the strange sins of this land, committed in all estates and degrees of people, and denounced the fearful judgments of God due unto them. He then exhorted his parents, and the people there present, to repent, that they might avoid all those grievous plagues, and wished that the whole land might do the like. After this he made a most excellent prayer; first for the whole church, then for the Queen's majesty, for

the subduing of her enemies, for the continuance of her life and peaceable government, for the upholding of the Gospel, and for all the true ministers of Christ; for those that have authority, for his parents, and for all the people of God. In this exhortation and prayer he continued about two hours, performing the same so excellently, both for the matter and manner of handling, and uttering the same; as they that heard it did admire it, and thought that a good preacher could hardly have done the like; this being done, he sung a good piece of the fourth Psalm in a most sweet and heavenly tune as ever might be heard."

Not the least wondrous part of the story is, that this extraordinary display of piety was held to be conclusive proof of the boy's being possessed by the devil. Margaret Hardman, one of Mr. Starkie's wards, was possessed by a spirit of a very different character. "She, in her fourteenth year of age, being in a trance of three hours long, and possessed at that time, as it seemed, with a spirit of pride, did most lively express, both by words and gestures, the proud women of our time, who cannot content themselves with any sober or modest apparel, but are very ready to follow every new and disguised fashion, and yet never think themselves fine enough; whereupon she said, 'Come on, my lad,' for she called the spirit that stood before her in that likeness, to teach her all the tricks of pride, 'come on, and set my partlet on

the one side as I do on the other:' and as she was a setting of it she said unto him thus: My lad, I will have a fine smock of silk, it shall be finer than thine; I will have a petticoat of silk, not of red, but of the best silk that is; it shall be garded a foot high; it shall be laid on with gold lace; it shall have a French body, not of whalebone, for that is not stiff enough, but of horn, for that will hold it out; my lad, I will have a French fardingale, it shall be finer than thine; I will have it low before, and high behind, and broad on either side, that I may lay my arms upon it. My lad, thy gown is of crimson satin, but mine shall be of black velvet, finer than thine; I will have my sleeves set out with wire, for sticks will break, and are not stiff enough. I will have my cap of black velvet, with a feather to it, with flews of gold, and my hair shall be set with pearls. I will have my partlet set with a rebater, and starched with blue starch, and pinned with a row or two of pins. With that she snatched the partlet from her neck and threw it at him, saying, 'Take it thou, for I cannot make it as fine as thine. I pray thee, come and help me to set it." My lad, I will have a busk of whalebone, it shall be tied with two silk points, and I will have a drawn, wrought stomacher, embossed with gold, and a girdle of gold finer than thine. I will have a scarf of red

silk, with a gold lace about the edge. I will have a fan with a silver steale, and glass set in it. My lad, thou must bring me a pair of gloves of the finest leather that may be, with two gold laces about the thumbs, and a fringe on the top with flews and red silk underneath, that I may draw them through a gold ring, or else, I will have none of them.

"My lad, I will have my basin and ewer of silver, and my towel of silk, finer than thine; I will have my gelding and saddle and furniture fit, my footstool also fine and brave, or else I will not ride; I will have my cloak and savegarde laid with lace, fine and brave, and finer than thine. And presently after this she said, I defy thee, Satan and thy pride, for this is thy illusion and device, I will none of it; and then reverting, said, Jesu bless me! but remembered nothing that she had either said or done."

Miss Margaret's demon was as great an adept in millinery as Master John's in divinity. Ellen Holland's was of a still better character. "She called for the hour-glass, and declared she must now have a fit, and should not come out of it for the space of four hours; she then called for a distaff and spindle, and bade them turn the glass, for she would spin an hour and a half of that time. And though she was but a child, and, as it were, beginning to learn to spin, yet she did

at that time so finely, and with such expedition, as was thought impossible for a very skilful woman to do the like."

Four of the devils were admirable dancers; one whistled melodiously, and two, who possessed the youngest girls, talked Latin. Mr. Starkie, however, was heartily tired of these displays of diabolical ability in his family, and on the recommendation of the celebrated Dr. Dee, he resolved to have recourse to the exorcising powers of Mr. Darrel. The exorcist felt, or feigned some reluctance in accepting the invitation; but at length he consented to visit Cleworth, provided that Mr. Starkie would assemble a company of godly ministers to meet him.

Two preachers, More and Dickson, assisted Darrel on this occasion. Their religious exercises were continued for several hours before the fits of the children began to abate. At length, one of the young ladies, or rather the devil within her, when Darrel became very fervent and energetic, exclaimed, "I must go! I must go! I cannot tarry,—the place is too hot to hold me!" This gave the ministers and bystanders encouragement; they worked away with renewed vigour, and at length each of the seven possessed persons beheld the tormenting spirits successively take their departure, and each was able to describe the lineaments of each demon.

John Starkie said, "It went out like a man

with a great bulch on his back, very evil-favoured and ugly to behold." This was the preaching, praying, and psalm-singing devil, whose performances were thought to exceed those of the ministers. It is to be regretted, that the exorcisers did not make his acquaintance, for they might with great advantage have secured his assistance in their pulpits. The millinery demon took the same shape as the preacher, as did two of the dancing devils; the spinner appeared like "an urchin, or hedge-hog, and crept out of a very little hole at the window;" the whistler was "broad like a toad, and round like a ball;" the seventh, who seems to have been chiefly remarkable for giving Margaret Byrom an enormous appetite, was "in the likeness of a crow's head, round, which when it was out went and sat in a corner of the parlour with darkness about it a while, then went it out of the window, with such a flash of lightning that all the parlour seemed to her to be one light fire; it left also behind it in the maid a sore throat, and a most filthy smell, insomuch that her meat was very unsavoury for a week afterwards."

Darrel declares, that for several weeks the devils used to come to the children, praying to be re-admitted, and offering large bribes if they should be received. Six of the dispossessed were perfectly cured, and the seventh, Jane Ashton, was not assailed, as Darrel asserts, "until a long

time after, when she, leaving Mr. Starkie's house, went and dwelt in a place of ignorance, and amongst Papists, and became Popish herself, as I have heard, for which opportunity and advantage the devil watching, and no doubt compassing, he then recovered her, and now dwelleth there, whose last estate, with Catherine Wright's, and Will Somers's, shall be worse than their first."

The re-possession of Jane Ashton was, as we see, employed as an argument against Popery; the dispossession of the other six was, with rather more tact, adduced to prove the inferiority of the Book of Common Prayer to extempore supplications. The three exorcisers declared, that "stinted prayers read out of a book had little effect upon the spirits; but at conceived prayers, the parties were much troubled." Gross as the juggle was, the commissioners of inquiry into Darrel's pretentions, were unable to procure any evidence of fraud, and Dr. Harsnett makes no attempt to expose the delusion beyond declaring that, after he had proved the cases of Catherine Wright and Will Somers to be counterfeits, the intervening dispossession of the Starkie family may safely be left to the reader's judgment.

The case of William Somers must now engage our attention. He had been servant to a gentleman near Ashby, but was dismissed because he was subject to epileptic fits. He was then

bound apprenticed to a tradesman in Nottingham, but disliking his situation, he feigned himself to be possessed, and played several extraordinary pranks, which imposed on all around him. He subsequently confessed that he had learned what tricks would best serve his purpose from a book of "The Witches of Warbois and Mr. Throgmorton's Children." This is a report of the most ludicrously absurd of all the witch-trials in England; on no better evidence than the nonsense of the nursery, a husband, wife, and daughter, were cruelly executed, and Sir Samuel Cromwell, who believed that his wife might have been the victim to these witches, actually endowed an annual lectureship in Huntingdon to commemorate the event. Somers had the grace not to accuse any particular person; he said that he did not know the old woman by whom he had been bewitched. Had he named any body her fate would have been sealed.

Darrel's sister lived in Nottingham. When Somers's condition began to attract public notice, she gave such an account of her brother's abilities as an exorcist, that the mayor and aldermen of Nottingham, and Mr. Aldridge, vicar of St. Mary's in that town, joined in a letter soliciting him to visit them, and attempt the boy's deliverance. On the 5th of November, 1597, Darrel obeyed the summons.

When brought into Somers's presence, Darrel

described very minutely all the symptoms he had seen in former cases of possession, and the boy, taking the hint, acted them all over for the edification of the spectators. On the next day Darrel exhibited Somers to a large congregation. He exhorted the people to beware of sin, for that the boy was thus afflicted for the sins of Nottingham, and that the devil himself had been forced to turn preacher through sheer disgust at the excessive wickedness of that town. While he spoke Somers acted by signs all the sins of Nottingham, and Darrel explained the purport of his movements to the people. It is a pity that we have no perfect description of this delectable pantomime; the entire sins of Nottingham at any age of its existence, must have been a very piquant collection, and each of Somers's gestures must have had even more meaning than the shaking of Lord Burleigh's head.

Mr. Aldridge, the minister of St. Mary's, preached a sermon on the subject in his church, and a Nottingham poet made the exhibition the theme of a pious ballad. We have not been able to discover a trace of the sermon, which is much to be regretted, but the following extract from the ballad may compensate the reader for its loss.

"But when that Master Darrel came,
The devil was vexed with the same.
His limbs he rack'd, he rent, he tore,
Far worser than he did before;

And played the Antic there in scorns,
And flouted men in making horns:
And after that he did bewray
How men at cards and dice do play.
He shew'd the manner of our fardingales,
Our busks, and periwigs, masks, and vales;
And by the clapping of his hands
He shew'd the starching of our bands."

The farce of dispossession was acted with such applause on the 7th of November that Darrel began to think it might be profitably renewed; he therefore hinted to Somers that it was very possible the devil might come back again, and in his address to the congregation said, that they would probably soon see a case of repossession. A week afterwards, Darrel was chosen preacher of St. Mary's in Nottingham, where his fame collected crowded congregations. He entertained them with tales of devils and possessions which frightened the poor people out of the small remains of their wits, "till the maids were afraid to fetch beer out of the cellar without company with them."

In this same week Darrel purchased the remainder of Somers's time from his master, made a collection for his use, and placed him to board in the house of his step-father. In a fortnight more Darrel, as Somers confessed to the commissioners, had prepared the boy to act the farce of repossession, and induced him to accuse several persons of witchcraft. The actor, however, was

not perfect in his part, and his failure in detecting some of the supposed witches when brought to him in disguise, began to throw discredit on the exhibition. Darrel, however, had procured another assistant in Mary Cowper, the step-sister of Somers; she began to have fits, screaming, shrieking, and uttering extraordinary sounds, and she finally accused Alice Freeman of having subjected her to the power of a familiar spirit.

Alice Freeman was ugly, old, and poor, causes sufficient to have sent her to the stake, but luckily for herself she was sister to an alderman, and though he had no motive to save her from starving, he felt that his own honour, and that of his family would be compromised by her burning. The corporation took the part of the alderman. Somers was arrested and confessed his deception. On the other hand, the preachers sided with Darrel; and Somers being liberated, retracted his confession. Application was made to the Archbishop of York to institute an inquiry. Among the commissioners was Sir John Byrom, some of whose relatives had acted a part in the Lancashire exhibition; he threatened Somers with vengeance if he should be proved a counterfeit, and the boy believing that there was no safety except in continued deception, acted the demoniac with such new and surprising variations, that the commissioners yielded to the evidence, and unanimously reported that this was a case of real possession.

All now wanting to superadd a lamentable tragedy to this amusing farce was the coming of such a judge as had presided at the trial of the witches of Warbois, but unluckily for the deluders the judge at the next assizes was Sir Edmond Anderson, Chief Justice of Common Pleas. Disgusted by several trials for witchcraft, in which he had some difficulty in protecting the innocent, he made private inquiries into the circumstances, and on his return to London laid the matter before the High Commission court. A new investigation took place; Somers confessed the whole series of deceptions in Darrel's presence, while the exorcist declared that the boy was now possessed by a lying spirit, tenfold worse than any of those which had been ejected. After a long trial, Darrel was condemned by the whole court as an impostor, degraded from the ministry, and committed to prison. After his liberation he never attempted to resume his former office of an exorcist, but he published several works vindicating the reality of his former feats, insisting that the cases just examined were actual cases of possession.

It is so hard to discover where enthusiasm ends and imposture begins,—or, rather, both are so closely intertwined in most great fanatics,—that it would not be fair to accuse Darrel of being wholly an unbeliever in his own exploits. In one of his vindications he incidentally reveals

what was probably the chief motive of his engaging in exorcism. We take the passage, italics and all, from his pamphlet. "This great and wonderful work of the Lord serveth *to convince and stop the mouths of the Papists*, who, as they are always boasting of their miracles, and upbraiding us with the same, so especially with this miracle of theirs (as they term it) of casting out of devils, whereupon it hath come to pass, that some of this bragging generation in *Staffordshire*, in the time of *Th. Darling* his possession, and also in *Lancashire*, in the time of the possession of those seven there, have broken forth into these and such like words of challenge, *Let us see one of your ministers cast out these devils: if we might bring a priest, we are sure he could do it.*"

What Darrel says is, no doubt, true; to this hour the Irish peasants believe that their priests can alone banish the devil, and that he always baffles the exertions of Protestant ministers. Exorcism, in the notes to the Rhenish Testament, is declared to be a standing test of the True Church. "As for heretics," says the note on Mathew xvii. 9, "they can never do it, nor any true miracle to confirm their false faith." We have, indeed, abundant evidence that the Jesuits and seminary priests frequently acted the juggle of casting out devils: Harsnet exposed some of their impostures as effectually as he had detected Darrel; but new tales were invented, and when

the home supply failed, wonders were imported from abroad. The most curious and least known of these is an account "of the Devil Balam's departure out of the body of the Mother-Prioress of the Ursuline Nuns of Loudon," which was published under the direct sanction of the Bishop of Poictiers and by royal authority. As this is wholly dissimilar from the English exorcist, we have hunted out the original copy, printed at Orleans in 1635, and shall give a brief account of the French juggle, or as it was called by Harsnet, "the first part of the play acted at Loudon by two Devils, a Friar, and a Nun."

The King of France issued a commission to several members of his Council, commanding them to search out and eject several devils who had taken possession of sundry His Majesty's liege subjects; and in the course of their visitations they came to the convent of Ursuline Nuns at Loudon, where some person or persons had been playing the devil for some months past. Three Englishmen, who were on their travels, visited the Archbishop of Tours, and he gave them a letter of introduction to the exorcists, in order that the travellers should be edified by such an exhibition. The Rev. F. Surin, who appears from the story to have frequently operated on the Mother-Prioress before, brought her on the stage, and soon compelled her to produce the devil by whom she was possessed. This devil was named

Balam, but having no particular anxiety for an intimate acquaintance with Father Surin, he counterfeited the postures of Isacaron and Behemoth, two imps well known to the holy exorcist. Father Surin, mistaking him for Isacaron, commanded him to give satisfaction respecting an accident which had befallen the Prioress eight days before, being "an extraordinary distraction of her wits, with a perpetual inclination to eat and sleep, which was extremely painful to her; being unusual and inconsistent with her nature." Balam was not ready, on the nonce, to give a satisfactory account of any lady's folly, appetite, and slumber, so he modestly answered, "it was an enterprise;" and when Surin pressed for further explanations, the devil ran away. Hereupon, the exorcist ordered the hymn *Magnificat* to be sung, upon which Balam again appeared in the form of Isacaron, but, being within the body of the Prioress, he was, probably, invisible to all except Father Surin. The devil was then commanded to fall down and worship the Host, which he did; but when he was getting up, he smiled with his natural face, and the exorcist at once discovered his identity. Balam was greatly alarmed at this detection, he confessed the mischief he had wrought, and showed himself such a coward, that the Jesuit took courage to expel him altogether. After a brief resistance, Balam promised obedience; the lady fell upon her knees, and stretched forth her

left hand, whereupon all the spectators saw bloody characters arise on the back of her hand, and form the word JOSEPH. At the same time, Surin exclaimed "Victory! Balam has departed!" He then explained to the spectators that Balam had threatened to write his own name on the back of her hand, in order that she might take his name to Heaven, from which he was excluded himself. Now, Surin had discovered that St. Joseph was a personal enemy of this particular imp, and he, therefore, applied to the guardian angel of the lady to join St. Joseph in compelling Balam to mark the saint's name on her hand instead of his own. Balam resisted stoutly, but was, at last, forced to promise that he would do so whenever he took his final departure from the body of the prioress. In consequence of this satisfactory explanation, the whole company sang *Te Deum*.

Surin now summoned another devil, named Behemoth, from the body of the prioress, who, having first declared his belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and explained the mystery of it as intelligibly as it has ever yet been explained, confirmed Balam's account, on oath, in all its particulars, and added that he had been justly expelled from the body of the prioress for having dared to make her "chatter like a parrot, eat like a wolf, drink like a fish, and sleep like a sloth." Father Surin declared that if Behemoth did not behave himself, he too should be expelled from

the body of the prioress, and sent to look for other quarters. Behemoth made a very humble and modest reply, upon which he was permitted to retain possession, and the curtain dropped. This precious story is attested by the signature of two counsellors of state, four exorcists, the lieutenant of police, and the initials of the three English travellers. It is, furthermore, officially sanctioned by the Bishop of Poictiers and the Royal Council of France. It is a pity that Lord Shrewsbury did not annex it to his authenticated instances of stigmatization, and thus add another to the many proofs that

> "Mad as Christians used to be
> About the sixteenth century,
> There's lots of Christians to be had
> In this, the nineteenth, just as mad."

It would be easy to extend this chapter, and multiply instances of the fraud and folly of exorcism; the instances given are, however, sufficient. But it is the duty of the historian to record, that while such juggles were encouraged by the Romanists and the Puritans, they were bravely rejected by the leaders of the Anglican church; indeed, the seventy-second canon was framed to prevent the repetition of such disgraceful impostures as Darrel's dispossessions.

After his liberation from prison, Darrel retired

into private life, and died in obscurity. He left the stage free to a new set of impostors, who were not less successful than himself in collecting congregations of new dupes;—for in the kingdom of folly there never yet has been a difficulty in providing for the succession.

It is rather whimsical to find that in the controversy which arose respecting witchcraft and dæmoniacal possession, each party accused the other of Popery; Harsnet insinuated that Darrel was a Jesuit in disguise, while the friends of the exorcist directly accused Harsnet of being reconciled to the Romish Church,—a charge so confidently urged that it was made the subject of judicial investigation. There are two well-authenticated instances of Romish emissaries feigning Puritanism for the purpose of bringing disgrace on the Protestant cause, by increasing the dissensions in the Protestant body—Heath, the brother of the deprived Archbishop of York, and Faithful Cumming, who became very popular in Kent by his Puritanical sermons. In Heath's lodgings a Papal licence was found authorising him to preach any doctrine his superior thought fit: he was exposed on the pillory at Rochester, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life. Cumming escaped to the continent, where he was, subsequently, recognized by some of the persons he had duped. In patronising the frauds

of exorcism and fanning the flames of fanaticism, the Jesuits and Puritans incurred an equal share of guilt, and Cowley was justified in declaring

> "The Roman Catholic, to advance the cause,
> Allows a lie, and calls it *pia fraus;*
> The Puritan approves and does the same,
> Disliking nothing but the Latin name."

LOYOLA AND THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

EVERYBODY talks of the art, tact, cunning, and cleverness of the Jesuits; but it seems to be forgotten that the triumph of art and cunning is the concealment of their existence:—since the Jesuits were not clever enough to hide their cleverness, we may rank them among the blunderers who have thrown the world into confusion by exciting alarms of which they were themselves the victims. In fact, their whole history is a series of magnificent failures; they ruined every cause which they attempted to serve, and were finally proscribed by the authority which they were instituted to promote. Their entire career may well be called Rome-antic, but the epithet is most appropriate to their intrigues in the sixteenth century, which displayed some of the most extraordinary antics ever practised to establish the power of the Vatican. In England they were, to a great extent, the cause, and wholly the excuse, for the persecution of the Catholics by Elizabeth and her ministers. It is impossible to form a moral judgment of the rancorous intolerance displayed in the proscription of the Romanists, and the gibbeting of persons

who refused to take the oath of supremacy, without taking some notice of the provocation. The institution of the Jesuits was always regarded as a standing declaration of war against all opponents of the papacy, and the order itself looked upon as a belligerent body which could not give or receive quarter in any contest. We shall, in fact, see that from the very commencement it received a military spirit and organization: it was a monastic militia, which disregarded the rules of regular warfare, and was, therefore, sentenced to be excluded from its humanities.

Ignatius Loyóla, the founder of the order, was born, in 1491, at the castle of Loyola in the province of Guipiscoa, in Spain. His family was of sufficient rank to obtain for him the advantage of an education at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, at the time when the Spanish mode of "sporting on the Moors" was most in fashion. Instead of furnishing materials for amusement, the Spanish Moors were themselves the game; and they had this superiority over the moors of Scotland,—that a shooting excursion upon them not only promoted the health of the body, but also relieved the soul from the anticipated terrors of purgatory. Loyola entered into military service before he had a beard; but this is no way wonderful: even in England, commissions have been given to children in the cradle, and the first Lord Donoughmore had one of his daughters

gazetted as a cornet of dragoons! We are told, on high authority, that

> To give a young gentleman good education
> The army is far the best school in the nation.

But our army in its best days did not come near the Spanish soldiery which had been trained in the wars of Granada. Under Ferdinand's generals, licentiousness and debauchery had become an organic part of military discipline, and the practice of more virtue than was prescribed in the order-book, was likely to bring the delinquent to the drum-head and the triangles. There was, however, no occasion to bring Loyola before a court-martial for neglecting vice; he was sufficiently immoral for a general officer, and would in all probability, have sinned his way up to the rank of field-marshal, but for an unfortunate wound in the leg, which he received at the siege of Pampeluna. The bone was broken, it was set by an unskilful surgeon, and Ignatius had the prospect of being lame for life. This was intolerable to one of the best dancers in the Spanish court; he had the leg broken over again, in order that it might be re-set: the experiment failed, the wounded leg remained shorter than the other, though the hero had it every day stretched by an iron apparatus, which would have formed a very tolerable apprenticeship for the rack.

During his confinement, Loyola amused him-

self by reading, or listening to the Lives of the Saints, a library of romance, which is all but inexhaustible. His biographers are not agreed as to whether he could read at this period; it is probable, however, that he could spell, and that the tediousness of this operation enabled the subjects of his study to cast a spell over him.

It is amusing to observe the close resemblance between the Spanish romances of theology and chivalry. The astounding adventures of the spiritual Paladins leave Amadis of Gaul, and Don Belianis of Greece far behind in extravagance, and equally surpass them in grossness and indelicacy; they unite the insanity of fanaticism to that of chivalry, and these multiplied together, will give nonsense in the *nth* power, a phrase which our fair readers will easily have explained and exemplified by the young gentlemen of Cambridge. Under the influence of this double potion, Loyola soon began to have visions and ecstasies, like St. Anthony, St. Francis, and the other great anchorets, who waged war on the world, the flesh, and the devil. Several of these visions are gravely recorded by his biographers; in one, he had a battle with the devil, which Luther himself would have envied; but Loyola belaboured Satan so severely with a crucifix, that the devil fled, roaring that he had not been so roughly handled since the days of St. Dunstan. In another, the Virgin Mary appeared, and in-

vited him to become her knight, bestowing upon him greater favours and encomiums than she had ever before vouchsafed to her votaries.

Several revelations, say the same authorities, were made to him in his ecstasies; his court education had left him in a state of what Lord Brougham calls "crass ignorance," and it was necessary that he should be taught the elements of divinity by supernatural means. Accordingly, it is stated that the mystery of the Trinity was explained to him so clearly, that he understood it as well as anything of which his senses could be cognizant. After his recovery, he wrote down all the particulars of this explanation, but "the precious document," say his disciples, "has unfortunately been lost." In another ecstasy, the entire plan of the order of "Jesuits, as well for its external government as for its interior constitution," was communicated to the favoured dreamer, and thenceforth he resolved to devote his entire life to the realization of his vision.

His first step was to go through the preliminaries for dubbing himself a knight of a new and spiritual order; he resolved to keep his vigil of arms in the church of the convent dedicated to our Lady of Montserrat, a magnificent structure in the rocky mountains of Catalonia, which the Virgin Mary was supposed to favour pre-eminently with her presence. Judging from the views we have seen of it, she has exhibited a very

picturesque taste in her choice. On his road, Ignatius met a Mohammedan Moor, with whom he entered into conversation; they soon got upon the thorny subject of the Immaculate Conception, which forms a part not only of every Spaniard's creed, but almost of his national existence. The Moor's physiology soon proved an overmatch for Loyola's theology, and the saint, setting spurs to his mule, distanced his impious companion. As he proceeded, he began to reflect on the impropriety of having allowed a blaspheming scorner to escape unpunished; he rode back with his sword drawn, to chop a head instead of chopping logic, but the Moor had turned aside to some other road. Loyola proceeded to Montserrat, where he dedicated his sword, dagger, and military equipments, to the Virgin, and took an oath of fidelity to her service.

Having thus constituted himself a member of some new and spiritual chivalry, Loyola assumed the insignia of the order. They were simple enough, consisting of ragged clothes, unwashed face, unshaven beard, neglected hair, and shoeless feet; he was equally opposed to sin and soap, to vice and vestments, to demons and decency. He next made an experiment on the art of living without food, but succeeded as badly as Bernard Cavanagh; at the end of a week of fasting, he was found in a cave, where he had sought shelter, by some charitable monks, who

compelled him to take some food. While practising these austerities, he began to write his "Spiritual Exercises," one of the most singular works that ever issued from the crazed brain of an enthusiast. In this work, our Lord Jesus Christ is represented as a belligerent monarch, levying an army of his subjects to wage war against his enemy, the Devil. Satan is described as a no less warlike potentate; both organize their regiments, display their standards, harangue their troops, lead them to the field, and promise rich plunder as the reward of victory. It is a curious example of an author's partiality for his early productions, that Ignatius to the very end of his life recommended the study of this precious piece of absurdity, and, what is still more surprising, the Jesuits adopted the error of their founder, and prevented a work so disgraceful to his memory from falling into oblivion.

Loyola's next proceeding was to come before the public as a preacher; it is true that he was utterly ignorant of divinity, but he went to school to learn Latin, though he had now passed his thirty-third year, and while receiving instruction himself, he was indefatigable in lecturing others. His preachings were a sad interruption to his lessons, and his mind was filled with so many visions that he could not remember a single word of what he learned. Hereupon he supplicated the master to set him a lesson as he did the other

scholars, and whip him soundly if he did not give a good account of it. Jurieu declares that this request was granted, and gives a very laughable account of the flagellation of the saint in the midst of a company of boys. The tale, however, will not bear examination.

Loyola's preaching alarmed the Inquisition; the preachers in Germany were justly regarded as the chief agents of the Reformation, and it was feared that the new teacher might be led to adopt the same views. He was arrested and thrown into prison with four of his companions at Alcala, and was not liberated until he had given a solemn promise to abstain from preaching for four years. Loyola removed to Salamanca, and, afterwards, to Barcelona, where his sermons again involved him in trouble, and he finally resolved to suspend his teaching until he had gone through a regular course of study in the university of Paris. Before this time, however, he had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had been arrested by some soldiers in Italy, who flogged him severely for refusing to take off his hat to their commander. His biographers dwell with great complacency on the visions and ecstacies he had during his pilgrimage, but they were mere repetitions of those already mentioned.

At Paris, Loyola supported himself by begging, but his earnestness and zeal so wrought upon his fellow-students, that five of them formed them-

selves into a confraternity for the practice of religious exercises. These were Xavier, usually called the Apostle of the Indies, Lainez, who at a later period became the legislator of the Order; Salermon, whose works have found a place in the Index Expurgatorius; Bobadilla and Lefebvre.

Many persons have dwelt on the similarity of the origin of the Jesuits and the Methodists, and have represented John Wesley as a Protestant Loyola; it is true that Wesley evinced some partiality for the transcendentalism of the Jesuits by writing a life of Xavier, and superintending an edition of Thomas à Kempis, and that in the organization of his society, particularly in the institution of band and class meetings, and in the singular ceremonial of "renewing the covenant," the founder of the Methodists, though probably unconsciously, adopted, with slight modifications, many Jesuit usages, but there was at least this difference between them, that Loyola from the very beginning intended to establish an Order, but it never was a part of John Wesley's ambition to become the founder of a Sect.

On the 15th of August, 1534, Loyola and his companions took a vow of association, and engaged to meet for the purpose of determining on some great religious enterprise at Venice early in the year 1537. In the interval, Loyola re-

turned to Spain, where his denunciations against the prevailing vices collected great crowds of hearers. He declaimed chiefly against the concubinage of the clergy, which was then looked upon as so venial an offence, that the mistresses of priests wore the distinctive dress of married women, and were received as such in public company. Ribadeneira, one of Loyola's biographers and eulogists, declares that the morals of the Spanish clergy at this period had so long been profligate that they ceased to be scandalous.

Having effected some reformation, Loyola set sail for Genoa, whence he travelled to Venice, and there met his associates. Here they discussed their project of travelling into Turkey and the other Levantine countries, for the purpose of converting the Mohammedans, and, at the same time, preached to the people in the city and the neighbouring towns, principally exerting themselves to put an end to the wearing of ornaments, such as laces and ribands, a circumstance which led Bishop Stillingfleet to compare the Jesuits to the Quakers.

At Venice, Loyola and his companions were admitted to holy orders, but their zeal was discountenanced by the ecclesiastical authorities, and their association was on the point of being dissolved. At length, Loyola had a vision which showed him the means of escaping from

his difficulties; in his trance he saw God the Father commending Ignatius and his brethren to his son, Jesus, who appeared bearing his cross; the Son received them with great kindness, and smiling on Ignatius, said, "I will be favourable to you at Rome." John Peter Caraffa, who afterwards became Pope under the name of Paul IV., was anxious to engage Ignatius and his companions in the new Order of Theatins, which he had founded, but finding that this could not easily be effected, he gave them letters of introduction, which procured them a warm reception at Rome, and entrance to the court of Pope Paul III.

The Pope very highly commended the outline of the constitutions for the new Order submitted to him by Ignatius, and laid them before his council. One obstinate Cardinal opposed the institution; Ignatius and his companions had recourse to fastings, prayers, and keeping of days; they averred that they said three thousand masses to have this Cardinal's heart divinely turned, and they finally succeeded, for it must have been a heart of flint that could have resisted so abundant a supply of solvents. The obstinate Cardinal being won over, the Society of Jesus was formally constituted by the Pope's Bull dated October 3rd, 1540. In the following year, Ignatius was appointed general of the new Order, and fixed his head-quarters at Rome, while his com-

panions dispersed themselves over the face of the earth.

The laws for the government of the new society were framed by Loyola, with the assistance of Lainez and Salermon. It will be sufficient to indicate some of the points in which they differ from the constitution of other monastic Orders. The Jesuits formed but one body; they were subject to the despotic and absolute control of their general, who resided at Rome, and who was thus placed beyond the reach of remonstrance; their obedience to him was blind, he assigned no reasons for his commands, the simple declaration of his will was sufficient. All missionary correspondence was addressed to the general's office, and the Jesuits were obliged to conceal their objects and proceedings from everybody else; thus it was possible that they might be engaged in working out the most extensive and dangerous projects, without being themselves conscious of the ultimate designs of their superiors.

The general had the power of dismissing any Jesuit whom he found unsuited to his purposes, without assigning any reason, and without returning the money which the expelled brother had brought into the general stock at his first admission into the Order. By this means the society got rid of the stupid or the scrupulous;

and of those who, having joined the Order in a fit of fanaticism, were inclined to turn restive when they recovered their senses. This rule also enabled the general to restore a brother to the world in order that he might receive a legacy or an inheritance, and then receive him back again with his new acquisitions for the benefit of the society.

The other monastic Orders were devoted to the support of the general Church, the Jesuits alone swore personal allegiance to the Pope; if the others were a militia they were household troops, attached and bound to the sovereign, rather than the state. They were also exempted from the tedious and wearisome ritual to which other monks are condemned; they were not bound to spend seven or eight hours a day in the repetition of long Latin prayers, and the chanting of Latin hymns. They were not only free, but encouraged to devote themselves to the advancement of the arts and sciences, and to the enriching of the Order by commerce and discovery.

No small portion of the power of the Jesuits was due to their having adopted a reform zealously, but vainly, advocated at the Council of Trent. Several prelates in that body eloquently denounced the scandal of selling the rites of burial as an article of merchandize, and levying a

tax on a ceremonial which unites reverence for the dead with instruction to the living. They declared it intolerable that a Christian minister should refuse, without a fee, to make a distinction between a dead brother and a dead beast, and asked, whether the grave, at least, ought not to be exempted from clerical rapacity? Others assailed the tariff, which fixes a price on baptisms and marriages, and urged the importance of gratuitously affording the ordinances of the Church to all members of the congregation. The Jesuits adopted these principles; they baptized, married, and buried, without accepting any fee; and though this disinterestedness may have been assumed as a means of winning political power, it was so obviously consonant with the true principles of a Christian ministry, that it won universal respect.

After having established his order, Ignatius applied himself to the conversion of the Jews in Rome, to the care of orphans, but more especially, to the reformation of women of the town, the number of whom, at Rome, was at that time excessive. Loyola became convinced that the Magdalene convents afforded no efficient remedy for this evil; inasmuch as all who entered bound themselves to a perpetual cloister and to the vows of the Order, and there were many willing to abandon its indulgence who

would not consent to resign all worldly pleasures, while there were others who wished for a place where they might securely obtain the means of decent subsistence by honourable industry after having abandoned a profligate course of life. These considerations led Loyola to found the Community of Grace of the Holy Virgin; he was a bountiful contributor to the building himself, and his example was followed by many others. It must have been a strange sight to see the general of the Jesuits at the head of a procession of the most notorious females in Rome, going from house to house, among the nobility, in order to place them under the care of honourable ladies and princesses, who, at his request, undertook the charge of their instruction. It may well be conceived, however, that there were many husbands who firmly refused to permit their wives or daughters to take a share in Loyola's system of education.

The trouble which Loyola had with this matter, confirmed him in his resolution to exclude women from his Order. In nearly all other monastic systems, convents of nuns as well as of monks are included; there were many ladies in Spain and Italy willing to submit to the discipline of Ignatius; he made a trial of three, one of whom was his old benefactress, Rosella of

Barcelona, but the result of the experiment drove him to despair. "It is incredible," says Ribadeneira, "what uneasiness and trouble the governing of three such petty creatures as these women gave him in a few days." He laid the matter before the Pope, and obtained a Bull exonerating the Order of Jesuits from the care of any nuns or religious women whatever; but to irreligious women they were allowed to pay as much attention as they pleased. Loyola availed himself of this privilege: the senate of Venice was about to deprive the Jesuits of a priory which they had obtained by questionable means; Lainez, in despair, wrote to Loyola that "all was lost, and that their only hope was in heaven;" but the general found assistance on earth, a bribe to the mistress of the Doge procured a decree in favour of the Order.

Loyola complained that the reading of Erasmus' "Manual of Christian Doctrine" was like the application of a piece of ice to his soul; by precept and example he taught his preachers to indulge in extravagant descriptions of ecstatic bliss, sinless perfection, and ideal felicity. It necessarily followed, that some of them, venturing to delineate the blessedness of Heaven, introduced a succession of material images which left the sensual paradise of Mohammed far behind. Thus Ludovicus Henricus affirms "that there will be

a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blessed; that they shall bathe in sight of one another, for which purpose there shall be most delicious baths; that they shall swim in them like fishes, and sing as harmoniously as larks and nightingales. That the angels shall be dressed like women, and shall appear to the saints in the habits of ladies, their hair curled, their petticoats fardingaled, and in the richest linen. That men and women shall divert themselves with masquerades, feasts, and balls. That the women shall sing more agreeably than the men, to make the pleasure greater; that they shall rise again with longer hair, and shall be decked and dressed with ribands and laces, as they are in this world. That married people shall kiss one another, as in this life, and their pretty sweet children, which will be no small pleasure." Assuredly, such descriptions are not likely to produce the freezing effects of Erasmus' "Manual."

Loyola lays claim to a more limited share of miracles than most other saints in the Calendar. We shall give one as a specimen, which, we believe, has no parallel. There was a woman at Rome, possessed by a devil, who followed Loyola wherever he went, shouting out "You alone can cure me!" The worthy general of the Jesuits turned round, and quoted to her that piquant

passage in Virgil which describes the meeting of Dido and Æneas in a cave when all inconvenient witnesses had been dispersed by a storm,

> Speluncam Dido dux et Trojanus eandem
> Deveniunt.

The devil, doubtless, mistook this verse for the commencement of an exorcism, although it might have been supposed that he would have known a passage which has been pretty often employed in his service. He threw the woman down, and, coming out of her, exclaimed, with affectionate familiarity, "Son Loyola, as a lion you force me to depart to the cave of Hell; but I beseech you not to throw me into that eternal cave." Ignatius, without rejecting the diabolical filiation thus offered, gently replied, "Go where thou wilt, and never more possess any man." The devil then immediately quitted the woman with loud shouts and exclamations.

Although the establishment of the Jesuits was vigorously resisted in France, Spain, and Flanders, so great were the perseverance of Ignatius and the influence of the Popes, that, in about twenty years after its foundation, the Order counted twelve provinces, more than a hundred colleges, and a still larger number of preceptories and religious houses subject to its rule. It was not from any dread of their craft or power that the Jesuits were first opposed; it was on account of the of-

fence which the extravagance of their fanaticism gave to all sober-minded persons, and the scandal which the excesses of their enthusiasm seemed likely to bring upon religion.

In Portugal, the Jesuits went through the streets at night, shouting out, "Hell! Hell for impenitent sinners!" By day they assembled multitudes of people to hear their wild orations, by exclaiming, "Hear, O Heavens! and give ear, O Earth! for the Lord hath spoken the word of salvation!" In other places, they ran naked about the streets, disciplining themselves with heavy scourges, while commiserating crowds fell upon their knees, supplicating them to take pity on themselves, and have mercy on their own limbs.

At Palermo, in Sicily, the Jesuits astounded the citizens by an allegorical procession representing the certain power of Death over all living. A gigantic image of Christ was extended on a bier borne by persons habited as angels, and surrounded by men bearing representations of our Lord's Cross and Passion. These were followed by horsemen, selected for their meagre and ghastly aspect, mounted on the leanest horses that could be procured, escorting the representation of Death. This was an immense skeleton, in a black car, drawn by black oxen, holding in one of its hands a scythe, and in the other bow and arrows, while at its feet were

piled, shovels, pickaxes, and other implements of interment. Such extravagances were enjoined on his missionaries by Ignatius himself; his usual address to the preachers he sent forth was, "Go, set on fire and inflame everything!"

The invention of legends by some of the Jesuits, rivalled in blasphemous absurdity anything which could be raked from the nonsense of the middle ages. Thus we are told of St. Rosa that, "being very ill of a sore throat, Jesus Christ, her spouse, came to visit her, and invited her to play a game of cards with him to divert her pain: she insisted that the winnings should be whatever the winner pleased. The cards were played, and she won the first game: upon which she demanded instant relief of her sore throat, which was instantly granted." We can scarcely bring ourselves to proceed, and yet the legend must be told. It states that "the spouse" insisted on her playing another game, she lost it, and the pain of her throat returned and increased.

It would be easy to quote many more absurd and revolting specimens of such wicked nonsense; but enough has been said, to prove that the Order of the Jesuits did not originate in any deep scheme of enlightened policy, but in sheer fanaticism, divided by "a very thin partition" from raving insanity. In institutions, as

well as in individuals, enthusiasm has a natural tendency to end in imposture; the fire is consumed by its own intensity, and it must be re-kindled by new materials. No state, either in the physical or moral constitution, is more dangerous than the lassitude which succeeds a feverish excitement; artificial stimulants are sought to revive the system, and, not unfrequently, a habit of indulging in their use is formed, which only ends with life. Loyola's spiritual intoxication continued to the day of his death; but, long before that period, Lainez had seen the political use which might be made of the fervid enthusiasm excited by the Jesuits, and secretly directed it to subserve his favourite object,—the restoration of the Papal supremacy in Christendom.

A more remarkable enterprise, was an extension of the first scheme which Loyola and his companions had framed, the conversion of the Mohammedan and Pagan nations, so as to give the Pope a new empire in Asia, Africa, and America, which would more than compensate for the provinces wrested from his sway in Europe. St. Francis Xavier was the great leader in this truly pious *croisade*, which, unlike all former projects of conversion, was to be carried into effect by no weapons but those of mildness and persuasion. His life has been

written by two English authors of very different principles, John Dryden and John Wesley, who equally exhibit veneration for his memory and respect for his character. Wesley, indeed, appears to have designed Xavier for his model when he went out as a missionary to Georgia; his admiration for Xavier, Thomas-à-Kempis, and Francis de Sales was never concealed, and this not a little contributed to fixing on the Methodists the unmeaning nickname of Protestant Jesuits.

Xavier had all the zeal and simplicity of the first apostles, but his intelligence was not equal to his virtues; his fervid preaching and untiring enthusiasm could win converts, but he had not the skill and prudence necessary to found a church. He embarked at Lisbon, April 8th, 1541, and in the following year arrived at Goa, where, according to his invariable custom, he took lodgings in the hospital, and devoted his leisure moments to attendance on the sick. The cures which he effected occupy a very conspicuous part of the great collection of his miracles, published by Bartoli; and, we must add, that the miracles ascribed to Xavier transcend in magnitude and number all those recorded in Holy Writ.

His labours however were not confined to Goa; he visited most parts of the great Asiatic penin-

sulas, and the principal islands in the Indian sea. During one of these voyages, he wrought a miracle of very questionable piety. The soldiers and merchants on board the vessel were inveterate gamblers; one of them staked and lost not only all his own money, but that with which he had been entrusted by others. In the agony of his despair, he howled, swore, and blasphemed, so as to scandalize the most wicked of the crew. Xavier attempted to remonstrate, but the desperate gambler drove him off with curses and insults; whereupon, the saint begged a sum of money from the passengers, gave it to the reprobate, and assured him that he would be miraculously aided to win back all that he had lost. The gamester immediately challenged his antagonist to a renewal of the contest; he held all the honours, won all the tricks, and, having retrieved his fortune, vowed that he would never again touch a card during his life. If he kept his vow, the story certainly deserves to be recorded as a miracle.

Another miracle, which occurred during a voyage through the Molucca islands, deserves to be recorded, because it is supported by the solemn affidavit of Don Fausto Rodriguez and seven others, who declare that they were eye-witnesses of the fact. The following is an exact translation of the account given by Rodriguez:

—"We were sailing in a caracora, which is a vessel of this country, rather frail on account of its disproportionate length, when suddenly a dreadful storm arose, at which the sailors, though natives of these islands and accustomed to similar tempests, were much alarmed, believing themselves in extreme peril. Then Father Francis (Xavier) took out a crucifix of about a finger's length, which he wore on his breast, and, stooping over the side of the boat, dipped it into the sea; by some accident, the crucifix slipped from his hands, and was swallowed by the waters, at which the holy father was greatly afflicted, and exhibited signs of inconsolable regret. The following day we cast anchor before the island of Baranura, and landed at Tamalo. Twenty-four hours had elapsed between the loss of the crucifix and our arrival, and during all this time we were driven about by the storm. After we had landed, the holy father and I proceeded along the coast towards Tamalo; we had not advanced more than twenty paces, when we saw a crab coming out of the sea, holding the crucifix aloft in its claws, and I perceived it make straight towards the holy father, and stop directly before him. The holy father threw himself on his knees, and the crab waited without stirring until he had taken the crucifix; after which the crab backed (as if out of the presence of royalty) into the sea. Father Francis con-

tinued for half an hour in prayer, kissing and embracing the crucifix, and I joined with him in returning thanks to the Lord for so signal a miracle. Afterwards, we got up and resumed our journey." Should any one be so unreasonable as to doubt the respectable testimony of Rodriguez, he should be taught to his confusion that the very crucifix thus miraculously restored, is preserved to this day in the cathedral of Goa, but of the pious crab nothing further is recorded.

After his return to Goa, Xavier visited Japan in order to convert the natives of this extensive empire. There was one slight impediment to his success; he did not understand one syllable of their language; but his biographers enumerate among his miracles that he devoted himself to its study, and was able to make himself tolerably well understood in the short space of forty days. Still he met with little success during his first visit, which he ascribed to his simplicity of appearance as a humble pilgrim. On his second visit, he presented himself to the king, with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of a Papal legate, bearing rich presents with which he had been furnished by the viceroy and the bishop of Goa. He now succeeded perfectly; the King not only gave him permission to preach, but also issued an edict which permitted every one who pleased to embrace the new faith. The eloquence of Xavier's

preaching, and the numerous miracles he wrought, produced such an effect on the Japanese, that more than three thousand of them embraced the Christian Faith. This success induced Xavier to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; he sailed from Japan for Malacca, amusing himself on the voyage by restoring some dozen people to life who had been drowned by various accidents, converting salt-water into fresh, and saving a heavily-freighted vessel from sinking by the mere force of his prayers. The governor of Malacca refused to let Xavier proceed, upon which the saint predicted that he would be deprived of honour and life. Soon after Xavier obtained a passage to the island of Sancian, about twenty-five leagues from Canton, where he was seized with a painful and mortal disease. During the agonies of his sickness, a sympathising crucifix wept tears of blood for his sufferings, although it was many thousand miles distant, being the ancient cross in the chapel belonging to his family. It was not, however, to be expected that a piece of wood should exhibit much knowledge of mathematical geography, by forgetting to make allowance for the difference of longitude, it appears that this crucifix always contrived to weep at the wrong times.

Xavier's body was interred on the shore in quick-lime, but three months after, when it was resolved to transport his relics to Goa, the body

was found perfectly fresh, and it exhaled a sweet odour which completely ravished the senses of those by whom it was disinterred. We shall not dwell upon the numerous miracles wrought by Xavier's corpse and ghost; long after his death, both his body and spirit continued to perform wondrous works. It may, perhaps, be deemed extraordinary that the list of Xavier's miracles should, both in quantity and quality, transcend the catalogue of those ascribed to his master; but Loyola remained in Europe, where the report of such wonders might have provoked inconvenient investigations, while the disciples of Xavier in the distant east might send home any account they pleased fearless of contradiction.

On the death of Ignatius Loyola, in 1556, Lainez was elected general of the Jesuits; his first proceeding was to extend the power of the Inquisition, which he had hitherto opposed, and he succeeded in having this tribunal established in most of the colonies which were then dependent on the crown of Portugal. Xavier had strenuously recommended the introduction of the inquisition at Goa, and seven years after his death his desires were accomplished. The advocates of the Jesuits boast that none of their Order ever acted as judges in this detestable court, but they did worse; they were accusers, informers, and spies for the Dominicans; they hunted down the prey and drove it into the toils, but they

abandoned the task of butchery to the inquisitors. Lainez attended the Council of Trent, and took an active part in baffling the prelates who were disposed to place restrictions on the power of the Popes; it is more honourable to his character that he opposed the persecution of the Huguenots in France, and recommended that they should be won back to the Church by mildness and concessions. During the government of Lainez the Order of the Jesuits was greatly extended; after encountering an obstinate resistance from the monastic orders and the University of Paris, the new society was received into France, and soon began to engage in the political intrigues which agitated that kingdom.

Hitherto, the proceedings of the Jesuits exhibited nothing but wild and extravagant fanaticism; but, under the guidance of Lainez the enthusiasm was permitted to cool down, and craft was substituted in its stead. Several grades of rank were established, like the different orders of freemasonry, bound by different vows, separately organized, and having distinct degrees of obligation, though all were sworn implicitly to obey the commands of the general. It was asserted that these distinct Orders were instituted for the purpose of enabling the more ascetic to observe their own stringent rules, while those less disposed to abstinence would be at liberty to enjoy a portion of worldly pleasures. Such, in-

deed, appears to have been the original design of Loyola, and hence Wesley adopted a similar division in the platform of Methodism, instituting "band-meetings" to gratify those for whom the class-meetings were not sufficiently rigid. Into the inferior Order, persons of every rank and profession were admissible without being required to abandon their secular employments, and some of the Popes suspected that a difference of religion was not a disqualification for admission to the body. It was impossible for the Pontiffs not to look upon the authority of the generals without suspicion; the Jesuits disclaimed ecclesiastical obedience to all the constituted authorities of the Church; they formed a compact, isolated, and self-governed body; had they continued to advance with the same rapidity which marked their early career, they would have been able to give Christendom a new Papacy and a reformed ecclesiastical establishment. It is in the highest degree improbable that any such vast plan entered into the mind of Loyola; he had not the capacity to conceive, nor the resolution to organize an extensive confederation; he appears to have been a shallow enthusiast, of whom more crafty managers made use. His biographers relate "that Satan used to fill and vex his mind with infinite doubtings;" that "his occupation by day and night was to litigate, wrangle, and be perplexed with himself, whether certain actions

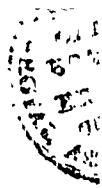
were not sins, and whether he were guilty of any;" they add, "The more he strove to extricate himself, the more he was entangled. His confessor forbade him to give ear to scruples; but what was to be reckoned a scruple afforded new matter for scrupulous inquiry; everything to minds thus affected affording scruple and doubt." This is very unlike the character of a man who would aim at founding a political society in which no scruple would be permitted to interfere with obedience, though it is a common characteristic of persons led away by fanaticism. There are moments of re-action in which the coldness of scepticism sinks their spirits as far below zero as the fire of enthusiasm raises them above boiling heat. They spend their life in these alternations between heat and cold; in their fervid hours they can do nothing rationally, and in the frigid season they will do nothing at all. Such appears to have been Loyola's character, and hence, while we believe that the Jesuits originated in his enthusiasm, we are persuaded that their strength and organization were derived from the better-regulated temperament of Lainez.

In their missions to the Pagans, the Jesuits adopted a system of compromise which has been very severely censured by those who believe that Christianity ought to be preached in its rigid purity, or not at all. Father Mobili, at Madura, attached himself to the Brahmins, adopted their

dress and mode of living, learned their sacred language, the Sanscrit, and submitted to their penances. He not only tolerated the distinction of castes, but separated the converts according to caste in the churches. He was soon surrounded by crowds, who, at least, professed Christianity, and his success silenced the complaints which were made respecting his concessions to idolatrous superstitions. Fairer prospects of success seemed to be opened at the court of Delhi, then ruled by the enlightened emperor Akbar, who had the good sense to discover that the authority ascribed to the Koran, was the chief impediment to the progress of civilization in Mohammedan countries, and was, therefore, anxious to weaken the strength of Islamism in his dominions. He was ambitious, perhaps, to become the founder of a new religion, compiled from the best parts of all those with which he was acquainted, and, therefore, not likely to embrace Christianity immediately; but, however favourably he might have been disposed towards the true religion, it was presented to him in a form calculated to shock both his prejudices and his reason. Pictures and legends of the saints were sent to him, instead of the simple truths of the Gospel; and Akbar, whose mind revolted from anything like the worship of inferior beings, was disgusted with the extravagant claims made for devotion to the worship of the Virgin Mary. The mission to

China was more successful, and Abyssinia afforded some hope of being reconciled to the Church. These triumphs were celebrated and exaggerated throughout Europe, and they provoked the indignation of the Protestants at seeing the conversion of the heathen likely to be effected by their worst enemies, while some, more reasonably, dreaded that Papal despotism, strengthened by these new allies, might again become formidable to the independence of the states of Christendom.

The activity of the Jesuits was thus extended from the Alps to the Andes; from the snows of Scandinavia to the spicy groves of Ceylon; it was animated and directed by one central spirit, whose vivacity and intensity was, perhaps, most keenly felt at the remotest extremities.



ROBERT PARSONS, EDMUND CAMPIAN, AND THE JESUITS IN ENGLAND.

We have already had occasion to observe that Elizabeth was rather lukewarm in her zeal for Protestantism, that she would in all human probability have lived on amicable terms with the Roman Court and Church, but for the absurd bull which had been fulminated against her by the Pope, immediately after her accession. She was, however, surrounded by counsellors who had a very keen taste for Romish fines and forfeitures, —men whose conduct showed that they had little real regard for religion, and only used its name as a pretext for indulging their rapacity. It has been a subject of controversy, whether plots produced persecutions, or whether persecutions originated plots; it is probable that each was reciprocally a cause and effect; the severe treatment of the Catholics, disposed many of the body to form treasonable projects, and these projects when detected, afforded a plausible excuse for stringent penal laws, executed in a spirit more bitterly hostile than that in which they were framed. The first provocation undoubtedly came from the

Papacy; Paul IV. by his intemperate fury forced Elizabeth not only to adopt a Protestant course, but also to regard every adherent of the Pope as her personal enemy. So early as 1563, a statute was passed, by which a refusal to take the oath of supremacy, was, for the first offence, rendered punishable by *premunire*, while a second refusal subjected the delinquent to the penalties of treason. Non-conformity to the established forms of worship, was also rendered punishable; and, in consequence of the rigour of these laws, many Catholics went to church, with a secret protestation that they went not "for liking of the religion, but to save themselves from suffering in person and property." It required, indeed, great constancy in the Catholics to resist the harassing vexations to which they were exposed by any overt act of adhesion to their ancient faith; they were liable at any hour to be hurried before the courts of High Commission; to be interrogated when they assisted at mass, and to be forced by torture to name those who had taken a part in the illegal ordinance; they were daily watched by the pursuivants; they lay at the mercy of every malicious neighbour, and they were afraid to exercise the rights of hospitality, lest some guest should discover suspicious signs of Papistry, and denounce his hosts to the ecclesiastical commissioners. Royal example would have justified such treachery; in one of her pro-

gresses, Elizabeth was so nobly entertained at the house of the Rookwoods', at Euston, that she sent for the owner, thanked him in warm terms, and gave him her hand to kiss; but some of her train had discovered that Rookwood was a "Popish recusant," the Queen's chamberlain, Sussex, summoned him to appear, demanded how "he durst presume to attempt the Queen's real presence, he being unfit to accompany any Christian person, but rather a proper candidate for the stocks," and then had him committed prisoner to the common jail of Norwich where he was detained until he had paid a very excessive fine. After such treatment, it is not surprising that young Rookwood should have become one of the contrivers of the Gunpowder Plot.

The pursuivants employed to search the houses of Catholics were, for the most part, "bankrupts and needy fellows, either fled from their trade for debt, and, by the Queen's badge, to get their protection, or some notorious wicked men, whose godless disposition is apt to be employed in any mischief." In the letter containing this description, instances are given of robberies committed by these legal harpies, of insults offered to families of the highest rank, and of cruelties practised on the weak and unresisting by these agents, who alone could be got to hold the position of alternate spies and torturers. Nor was this all; forged warrants were employed to obtain admission into

private houses for the purpose of plundering them. "There have divers," says a contemporary document, "come with feigned commissions, and have robbed Catholics' houses and others. In Yorkshire, many Catholics' houses were thus robbed, to their great vexation and loss. In Worcestershire, one Mr. Reynford, a gentleman, was robbed of more than one hundred marks by these forged companions; they being assisted in their robbery by justices of the shire. And it hath been put in practice by divers counterfeit mates, who made an occupation of it; and even with the aid of constables and officers, have spoiled many poor Catholics, and yet no remedy can be had against these miseries."

It was hoped that such severities would in time annihilate the Catholic priesthood, and, consequently, the Catholic religion in the country; such might have been the result but for the exertions of Dr. Allen, afterwards Cardinal, who collected subscriptions for erecting a college abroad for the education of English Catholics. Such a seminary was soon established at Douay; in a short time the new college contained one hundred and fifty students in theology, whose object was to obtain orders and return as missionaries to England. An additional seminary was soon after established at Rome, and Mercurianus, the general of the Jesuits, at the request of Allen, con-

sented that the members of his Order should share in the glory and dangers of the mission.

It is not surprising that the activity displayed by these new missionaries alarmed the lords of Elizabeth's council, while their success in reconciling many to the Church of Rome who had previously conformed to the established religion, gave just offence to many zealous Protestants. The older priests who had remained in England, and had obtained a kind of prescriptive toleration, became very jealous of their more enterprizing associates; they saw with undisguised rage that the Jesuits, with the advantage of a resident superior, had gradually become the most influential members of the English mission. They possessed more extensive faculties than the old clergy. They were attached to the principal families; they were consulted by the Catholics in their dangers and difficulties; they were the medium through which the funds for the maintenance both of the clergy and the poor, were chiefly administered. The jealousies of the secular priests were aggravated by political and religious differences, which nearly produced a schism in the English Catholic body. A large section of the Jesuits, probably the majority, was devoted to the Spanish interest; they wished to dethrone the Queen, and transfer the sovereignty at once to some Spanish prince, and if

this should be found to be impracticable, they were resolute in maintaining that the Stuarts should be excluded from the succession, and measures taken to obtain the inheritance of England for one of the Infantas. There can be no doubt that such projects were treasonable, and just as little that they were entertained by Cardinal Allen, Inglefield, Parsons, and many other Jesuits and seminary priests. But the great bulk of the English Catholics repudiated such designs, and showed their abhorrence of them by the loyalty of their conduct at the time of the Spanish Armada. It is even doubtful whether the court of Rome approved all the projects of its zealous partisans; the Vatican had begun to learn the wisdom of moderation, and many of the Popes were more in dread of Spanish ambition than of the progress of the Reformation.

The ecclesiastical differences between the old priests on the one hand, and the Seminarists and Jesuits on the other, related to the form of government which it was most expedient to establish for the Romish Church in England. A large body, both of the clergy and laity, wished to have one or more bishops appointed, who might regulate the internal economy of the church. Many of the Anglican and Latin clergy felt themselves drawn closer together by the opposition which the prelates of the Established

Church were forced to make to the growing influence of the Puritans, and by the avowed partiality of Elizabeth for many practices and observances of the Romish Church, which had been rejected by the Reformers in the reign of her brother Edward. Had bishops been appointed, the Romish Church in England, as now in Ireland, could have acted as an independent and self-governed body, in which case it was exceedingly probable that terms of pacification might have been proposed to the clergy of the Established Church, and that a treaty would have been concluded by which their differences would have been compromised. Elizabeth and her ministers were in favour of such an appointment, but it was steadily opposed by the Jesuits, and particularly by Parsons, who saw that such an organization would have transferred the power of the Catholic body in England from his order to the secular clergy. It was then exceedingly probable that the entire weight of Catholic influence would be opposed to his favourite project, the Spanish succession, while the portion of independence and self-government thus conferred upon the Romish Church in England, might lead, ultimately to its refusal of any allegiance to the court of Rome. The Jesuits triumphed in this contest, which, however, has been more than once revived by the English Catholic body; but they would not have succeeded had not the

impolitic and inhuman persecution of the priests, the fines, forfeitures, and tortures inflicted on laymen suspected of adhering to the Church of Rome, and the furious and almost exterminating zeal of the Puritans, to whose bigotry the court was often compelled to concede their beloved indulgence of persecution, alienated the entire mass of the Catholics, and re-united them into one body by the compressing force of common suffering. No less than twenty Catholics of family and fortune died of an infectious disease in the castle of York, produced by the filth of the loathsome dungeons in which they were confined. A similar fate befel the Catholics in Newgate in July, 1580; and, three years before, at the trial of some of this religion in Oxford, the malignant jail-fever, contracted during their confinement, was suddenly communicated to the judges, magistrates, jurors, spectators, and officers of the court, several of whom became its victims in less than thirty hours. The sufferings inflicted on Catholic prisoners by the rack and other instruments of torture, for the purpose of compelling them to confess their own delinquency, or to become the accusers of others, were of the most fearful nature; and the vexations inflicted by the pursuivants on those who were permitted to remain at large kept them in perpetual solicitude.

We are neither the apologists nor the impugners of either of the great parties which

then divided Christendom; both were guilty of gross iniquities and still grosser absurdities; the projects of the Spanish faction were wicked and desperate, but their success was so manifestly hopeless that it is hardly possible to have a firm belief in the sanity of the authors; the cruelties inflicted on the Catholics by Elizabeth and her ministers were iniquitous in the extreme, but they were so clearly impolitic, and so obviously calculated to defeat the objects for which they were professedly designed, that the Queen and her council had the grace to be ashamed of them, and more than once denied their existence. It may be noticed as a curious illustration of this condition of society, that of the two Jesuits whose lives we are about to consider, Parsons, the arch-traitor, should have escaped all legal penalties, while Campian, whose loyalty was unimpeachable, should, after having endured the most severe tortures of the rack, have suffered the fate of a traitor on the gibbet.

Robert Parsons, or Persons, was born near Bridgewater, A.D. 1546; his father was a blacksmith, but was one of the many in the same rank of life who felt strongly on theological points, and was inspired by the earlier preachers of the Reformation with a deadly hatred of the Church of Rome. His mother is said to have been one of the exiles during the Marian persecution; she probably accompanied some Protestant family

in a menial capacity, for there is little probability that a person of her rank could have provoked the hostility of Mary's bishops. The education which Parsons received was probably that of a precocious controversialist; he was taught to lisp abuse of Popes and Popery, to denounce the Romish Church in the cradle, and to repeat all the virulent abuse which parents, who combine zeal with ignorance, are, by a sad perversion of the text, so fond of perfecting "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings." We must not be too hasty in censuring the honest blacksmith, such systems of religious instruction are common enough in our own day; the sectarianism of the nursery has become on all sides a recognized part of juvenile literature, and people do not suspect that by forcing the mind to one extreme in infancy, they may be preparing a re-action which may drive it to the very opposite extreme in mature age. The precocious theology of young Parsons attracted the notice of John Hayward, the vicar of the parish, whom some suspected to be his real father; he instructed the youth in the elements of the classics, and, in due time, sent him to Baliol College, Oxford, which he entered in 1563. In the University, Parsons was equally distinguished for his skill in scholastic disputations, and for his exuberant Protestant zeal. Such were his merits that he was admitted a probationer fellow in the year that he took

his degree, and soon became the most famous tutor in his college. His chief rival was Bagshaw, who, like Parsons himself, became, at a later period, a convert to Romanism, but took the opposite side in the controversies to which we have already referred, betraying such bitterness, that it might be supposed he intended to finish as a Papist the battles which he had begun as a Protestant. Parsons wrote some lampoons against Dr. Squire, the master of the college, and the latter united with Bagshaw to procure the removal of the libeller. They brought three charges against him: — that he was a bastard, being the son of his patron Hayward, that he was incontinent, and that he had embezzled a portion of the college funds. Parsons found it necessary to resign his fellowship, but out of respect for his great learning, he was permitted to retain his chambers, his pupils, and his commons, until the ensuing Easter.

Bagshaw, in triumph, caused the bells of St. Margaret's Church to ring out an exulting peal for his rival's overthrow, and Dr. Squire, with similar spite, insulted him in the presence of his assembled pupils. To avoid similar mortifications, Parsons came to London, whence he passed over to the continent, with the intention of studying medicine. At Louvain he met a father of the Jesuit Order, William Good, a follower of Loyola rather than Lainez, whose

time was spent in spiritual exercises and those ecstatic devotions which had formed so large a part of the experience of the founder of the Order. The exile was much impressed with Good's conversation, which appears to have been of an impassioned and enthusiastic character, such as was likely to captivate the mind of a young man of vigorous imagination; the very strength of the prejudices infused into his mind when a child, led him to view the real facts of a Jesuit's life with favourable eyes, so that, after a brief residence at Padua, he removed to Rome, where he abjured the Protestant religion, and was formally admitted into the society of Jesus, May, 1575. His countryman, Campian, had adopted the same course only two years before.

From this moment, Parsons resolved to devote all his powers to one object, the reconciliation of England to the Romish see. He obtained from the Pope, in 1579, the grant of an hospital, to be changed into a college or seminary for English clerical pupils, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas a Becket! The students at entrance were obliged to take the following oath: "I ——; considering with how great benefits God hath blessed me, do promise, by His assistance, to enter into holy orders so soon as I shall be fit, and to return to England to convert my countrymen there, whenever it shall please the superior of this house to command

me." Dr. Allen was appointed the first rector of the new college; immediately after his installation Parsons offered his services to go as superior missionary into England, and Edward Campian was named as his assistant. They were the first appointed to venture on so perilous an undertaking. Notwithstanding the boasted secrecy of the Jesuits, the English spies sent home portraits of the two missionaries, accurate information respecting the time of their departure from Rome, the route they intended to take, and the precise objects of their journey. A strict watch was kept for them; but, by the ingenuity of their disguises, they escaped detection and arrived safely in London. Campian, in his letter to the general of his order, says that Parsons travelled in the dress of a soldier, and counterfeited so well the licentious habits and conversation of the military adventurers of that age, "that no one could suspect any sanctity or modesty to lie concealed under that habit, countenance, and gait."

Pius IV. had endeavoured to conciliate Elizabeth, but Pius V., who was of a more violent temper, issued a bull of excommunication against her, which was fixed by one Felton upon the gates of the Bishop of London's house in the city. Many of the Romanists were displeased at this, which rendered them suspected by the government, and was followed in consequence

by a more rigorous execution of the penal laws. They petitioned the Vatican to obtain a suspension or relaxation of the obnoxious edict, and a faculty for the purpose was granted to Parsons and Campian, of which the following is a translation: "Let it be asked of our most Holy Lord an explanation of the declaratory bull issued by Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents, that it may be of perpetual obligation on her and the heretics, but that it shall not, under present circumstances, *(rebus sic stantibus,)* bind the Catholics, until public execution of the said bull may become possible." There were many other petitions and memorials for further authorities of no interest. The Papal assent was thus notified: "The Supreme Pontiff has granted the aforesaid graces to Richard Parsons and Edmund Campian, about to make a journey into England, on the 14th day of April, 1580. Present, Oliver Manarcus, assistant." Several of the Catholics took advantage of this mitigation to make their peace with the government; but as they also attended the Established Church to avoid the fines for recusancy, which about this time were increased to twenty pounds per month, Parsons published a very virulent pamphlet against such conformity, which he had privately printed by William Carter, who for this offence was, subsequently, executed as a traitor.

The fiery zeal and rough manners of Parsons gave great uneasiness to his less zealous brethren, but particularly to Blackwell, who, afterwards, became arch-priest of England. Such conduct was the more culpable as the missionaries had been enjoined by the Pope to keep entirely to their ministerial functions, and not to meddle either by words or writing in the public affairs of the kingdom. Campian, who was a gentle and mild man, obeyed these orders, both in the spirit and letter; but his companion had fixed his mind on ensuring the Spanish succession, if he did not contemplate the immediate dethronement of Elizabeth. The quarrel between Parsons and his more moderate associates proceeded so far that they threatened to deliver him into the hands of the magistrates, and, in all probability, would have done so had he not undertaken a missionary tour into the midland counties.

Parsons had a press in his own house in London, presented to him by one of his wealthy converts, named Gilbert, and he seems to have worked this very constantly in the production of pamphlets, ballads, and seditious placards. So many writers have denied that the seminaries were ever perverted to supporting the Spanish pretensions to the crown of England, that it is necessary to quote the unsuspicious testimony of that able statesman, Cardinal d'Ossat, who gives the following account of these establishments in a letter to Henry IV :—

"For this purpose were the colleges and seminaries erected by the Spaniards for the English at Doway and St. Omer's, wherein the young gentlemen of the best families in England are entertained, for the purpose of winning their favour and that of their parents, kindred, and friends. *The principal care which these colleges and seminaries have, is to catechise and educate these young gentlemen in the full faith and firm belief that the late King of Spain had, and that his children now have, the true right of succession to the crown of England;* and that this is expedient not only for the realm of England, but for every place in which true Christianity is established.

"And when these young gentlemen have finished their classical studies, and have reached an age when they may be made thorough Spaniards, they are carried out of the Netherlands into Spain to other colleges, where they are instructed in philosophy and divinity, and confirmed in the same holy faith that the kingdom of England did of right belong to the King of Spain, and does now belong to his children. And after that these young English gentlemen have finished their courses, such of them as are found to be most Hispaniolized and most courageous and firm in their adherence to this Spanish creed, are sent into England to sow this faith among their countrymen, and to be spies. They

regularly send information to the Spaniards of what is doing in England, and what must and ought to be done to bring England under the dominion of Spain. And they are ready, if need be, to undergo martyrdom as soon, or rather sooner for this Spanish faith than for the Catholic religion."

Parsons exerted himself very diligently to effect the object of his mission. In a letter to Rome, after many complaints of the bitter persecutions to which the Catholics were subjected, he says, "Their number, notwithstanding, surpasses the diligence of the persecutors; in the space of one month fifty thousand have been registered who refuse to go to the heretical conventicles." Such success could not be obtained without attracting some notice; warrants were issued for the arrest of the missionaries, and a body of officers proceeded to the Red Lion, on Holborn Hill, where a secret meeting of the Jesuits was held. Parsons narrowly escaped; he had started from his lodgings to attend the consultation, but he lost his way in some of the narrow streets of the City, and when he came to the tavern, he found the place secured by a guard. Terrified at his narrow escape, he took leave of Campian, with whom he never appears to have acted heartily in concert, and secluded himself in some village on the coast of Kent. His retreat was traced, but he received timely notice of his danger, and escaped

in a fishing smack, to Rouen, in Normandy, whence he wrote a consolatory letter to his unfortunate friends in England. This was subsequently printed (at Rome and Engolstadt,) under the title of "An Epistle concerning the persecution of the Faithful in England;" it is a fit companion to Fox's Book of Martyrs, being as gross an exaggeration on one side as Fox's on the other. A more creditable work was his "Directory or Exercise, guiding men to Eternal Salvation," which with a very few alterations was adopted as a Protestant book of devotion, and as such was translated into English. Like Thomas a Kempis, Parsons became a favourite author with many zealous Protestants, who would never have read a line of his works had they known that they were written by a Papist and a Jesuit.

His hopes on England being frustrated for the present, Parsons turned his thoughts to Scotland, which he hoped to bring back to its obedience to the Holy See. He addressed himself to James, who, though still young, was an adept in that cunning and duplicity which he and many others mistook for wisdom. He first attempted to prevail upon the King by appealing to his affection for his imprisoned and suffering mother; but James soon showed that the avenue to his head did not pass through his heart, and Parsons adopted the more convincing course of a weighty bribe. Twenty-four thousand crowns were ob-

tained from the King of Spain, and four thousand more from the Pope, for the service of the King of Scotland and his mother. James paid the holy father with very lavish promises; but their insincerity was soon detected; the Pope closed his purse, and the King, finding that no more money could be got, put an end to the correspondence. The Queen of Scots, and her council in Paris, refused to accept the services of Parsons, and he was so piqued at the affront, that he devoted himself during the rest of his life to the maintenance of the Spanish claims; in which he was assisted by his friend Allen, who had been raised to the rank of cardinal, chiefly by the interest and exertions of Parsons.

The Spanish Armada was viewed by Allen and Parsons as an armament of whose success it would be impiety to entertain a doubt. They even prepared to dispose of the skin before they had slain the bear, Parsons having gone round to the several English seminaries, all of which had been placed under his charge by Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, and by threats or persuasion, compelled the students to subscribe to the Infanta's title to the English crown. He was sorely annoyed and perplexed by the spontaneous burst of loyalty manifested by the Catholics of England, notwithstanding their rigorous treatment, when they heard that their country was menaced by a foreign invasion. Some of

them entered as volunteers in the fleet or army; others equipped ships at their own charge, or raised regiments, of which they gave the command to Protestants; while others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country. Even those who had been thrown into prison for their religion, addressed Elizabeth from the depths of their dungeon as their "undoubted Sovereign lady and Queen," and offered to adventure their lives in her defence "against all foreign forces, though the same were sent by the Pope, or by his commandment." The reward they obtained was not their liberation, but the consoling assurance that they were imprisoned "not for any doubt that they would have assisted the enemy, but only to make it known to the Spaniards that there should be no hope to have any of them." If the spirit of intolerance could have admitted of such a feeling as gratitude, the conduct of the English Catholics at this crisis ought to have obtained for them a mitigation, at least, of the penal code; but, on the contrary, the severities to which they were subjected, were fearfully aggravated when the danger of invasion had passed away.

Parsons was well aware of the reward which Catholic loyalty would receive from the ministers of Elizabeth; he prepared a new pamphlet, which was published under Allen's name, in order to give a cardinal's authority to its recom-

mendations, entitled an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present wars, made for the execution of his Holiness's sentence by the high and mighty King Catholic of Spain." This most offensive of all the libels issued by the Romish party against Elizabeth, was printed at Antwerp; it denounced the character and conduct of the Queen in a tone of the most scurrilous invective; declaring that she was the offspring of adultery and incest; a heretic and a maintainer of heretics; a lascivious tyrant and an unholy perjurer. It concluded by calling upon all persons, "if they would avoid the Pope's, the king's, and the other princes' high indignation,"—"if they would escape the angel's curse and malediction upon the inhabitants of the land of Meroz," to rise against a woman odious alike to God and man, to join the liberating army upon its landing, and thus to free themselves from the disgrace of having "suffered such a creature, almost thirty years together, to reign both over their bodies and souls, to the extinguishing not only of religion, but of all chaste living and honesty."

To increase the effect of this manifesto, an abstract of it was printed on a broadside for general distribution. We transcribe a part of it from the copy recently published by that very diligent and acute investigator of English History,

the Rev. Mr. Tierney. It is entitled "A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth, the Usurper and Pretended Queen of England." In the name of Pope Sixtus V, it sets forth "that Henry VIII, late King of England, did, of late years, by rebellion and revolt, from the See Apostolic, violently separate himself and his subjects from the communion and society of the christian commonwealth; and Elizabeth, the present usurper, doth continue the same with perturbation and peril of the countries about her, showing herself obstinate and incorrigible in such sort that, without her deprivation and deposition, there is no hope to reform those states nor keep Christendom in perfect peace and tranquillity," for which, and sundry similar reasons, his Holiness empowers the "mighty and potent King Catholic of Spain to employ those forces which Almighty God hath given him, to the deposition of this woman and correction of her accomplices, so wicked and noisome to the world; and to the reformation and pacification of these kingdoms, whence so great good, and so manifest public commodities are likely to ensue." The causes of her deprivation are stated to be, first, "that she is a heretic;"—secondly, "that she is a bastard, conceived and born in incestuous adultery;"—thirdly, "for usurping the crown without right, having the impediments mentioned, and contrary to the

ancient accord made between the See Apostolic and the realm of England, upon reconciliation of the same after the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in the time of Henry II, that none might be lawful King or Queen thereof, without the approbation and consent of the Supreme Bishop: which, afterwards, was renewed by King John, and confirmed by oath, as a thing most beneficial to the kingdom, at request and instance of the Lords and Commons of the same." To this catalogue are added her breach of the coronation oath to maintain ecclesiastical privileges;—her tyranny to her subjects;—the aid she afforded to the insurgents in France and Flanders;—her persecution of the faithful;—her conduct to Mary, Queen of Scots; and her "disgracing the ancient nobility, erecting base and unworthy persons to all the civil and ecclesiastical dignities, selling of laws and justice; and, finally, exercising an absolute tyranny, with high offence to Almighty God, oppression of the people, perdition of souls, and ruin of these countries."

This precious proclamation then proceeds to command, "under the indignation of Almighty God, and pain of excommunication, and the corporal punishment appointed by the laws, that none of whatsoever condition or estate, after notice of these presents, presume to yield unto her obedience, favour, or other succour, but that they

and every of them, concur by all means possible to her chastisement." Finally, it states "Our said holy father, of his benignity and favour to this enterprise, out of the spiritual treasure of the church, committed to his custody and dispensation, granteth most liberally, to all such as concur, assist, or help in any wise to the deposition and punishment of the above-named persons, and to the reformation of these two countries, *Plenary Indulgence and pardon of all their sins*, being duly penitent, contrite, and confessed, according to the law of God, and usual custom of Christian people."

"Laus Deo."

When the Armada failed, as many copies of the "Declaration" and "Admonition" as could be found were collected and destroyed by the authors and their friends. But Parsons did not abandon his plans for the recovery of England; when he saw that there was no hope of prevailing against Elizabeth, he used his utmost efforts to prevent the succession of James I. With this design he published, under the feigned name of Dolman, his celebrated "Conference about the next succession to the crown of Enggland." The name of Dolman, who was an inoffensive priest, was assumed because Parsons and his principles were repudiated by the great bulk of the English Catholics, who shared the hostility of their Protestant brethren to Spanish do-

mination. For some reason, which has never been fully explained, the book was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whose place in the Queen's favour had already been shaken by the suspicions she entertained of his ambitious designs; and in the dedication it is asserted that "the book was published without offence of any, and with particular affection and devotion to Queen Elizabeth, and special care of her safety." The object of the work is to recommend the title of the Spanish Infanta, but the greater part of it consists of an elaborate vindication of the right of subjects to depose their rulers for misgovernment. It was the storehouse from whence the regicides, in the time of Charles I, drew most of their arguments; it furnished Bradshaw with most of his long speech on the condemnation of the King; Milton borrowed from it several passages in his "*Defensio Populi Anglicani*," and Robert Ibbotson re-published a great part of it under the title of "Several Speeches delivered at a conference, concerning the power of Parliaments to proceed against their Kings for Misgovernment."

The favour of Parsons in the Spanish court began to decline as the hopelessness of his projects, relating to England, became daily more apparent; but he still had hopes of obtaining the place of Cardinal, vacant by Allen's death, through the influence of Philip II. His in-

trigues to obtain this dignity showed that he was a consummate master of diplomacy, but Clement VIII. was no friend to the Jesuits, and instead of appointing Parsons to the vacancy, he reproached him severely for his incessant attempts to overthrow the government of England. So numerous and notorious were his plots that they became a common jest in Rome, and Pasquin's statue exhibited the announcement, "If any man wishes to purchase the kingdom of England, let him repair to a merchant in this city who wears a black square cap, and he may have it at a very cheap rate." Fearing the consequences of Clement's displeasure, Parsons retired to Naples, where he remained until the Pope's death, A. D. 1606.

On the accession of Paul V. to the chair of St. Peter, Parsons returned to Rome, where he resumed his duties as superintendent of the English mission, and his labours as a libellous pamphleteer. He was soon engaged in a new controversy with the English Catholics, arising out of King James's oath of supremacy. In a great meeting of the Catholics at London, over which Blackwell, the arch-priest, presided, it had been unanimously determined that the oath, according to the plain and common understanding of the words, might, with a safe conscience, be taken by Romanists. Parsons not only wrote on the contrary side, but persuaded Paul V. to

issue a brief, pronouncing it to be unlawful, and ordering that Blackwell and the priests who had taken it should be displaced. This was not the only instance in which his interference divided the English Catholic body, by exciting controversies which left behind them rankling feelings of jealousy and dislike; he did not hesitate to arrest and imprison the deputies of the secular priests who came to Rome to complain of the manner in which the affairs of the mission were conducted.

In the latter end of Lent, 1610, Parsons was seized with a violent fever, which, in three or four days, attained such a height, that the physicians pronounced his recovery hopeless. But his mental activity was not affected by disease; he dictated several letters connected with the discharge of his office, and transacted some important business relating to the English mission the second day before he died. Paul V, hearing of his illness, granted him the unprecedented indulgence of all the ceremonies usually allowed to cardinals at the point of death. His body was embalmed, and, at his request, was interred in the chapel of his convent, next to that of his old friend, Cardinal Allen.

Parsons was a voluminous and able writer; in the preceding volume we have made frequent mention of "Leicester's Commonwealth," a collection of all the scandalous stories circulated re-

specting that scandalous nobleman. There can be little doubt of the authorship, for the style, both of that and the "Conference," is precisely the same as that of the Jesuit's other works. It is sometimes called "A Letter from a Master of Arts at Cambridge," and also "Father Parsons' Green Book," from the colour of the leaves and binding. After his death, appeared "A Memorial for Reformation," to the preparing of which he devoted twenty years: it contains his plans for arranging the temporal and spiritual affairs of England, when that country should be again brought under the dominion of the Holy See, —an event which, in spite of all his disappointments, Parsons, to the last hour of his life, continued to regard as near at hand. His mental energies were wonderful, and his confidence in them bore him through labours and difficulties under which most of his brethren would have succumbed. He was always more popular with the court than with the Church of Rome; indeed, the secular clergy did not hesitate to brand him as an atheist, an impostor, and a foe to all good government. On the other hand, he was exceedingly popular with his Order, which was indebted to him for the great extension of its influence over the seminaries. There can be little doubt that his whole system of policy was, at best, an elaborate blunder; he attempted to gain great ends by inadequate means; but there

was not a prince or potentate in Europe more dreaded by Elizabeth than this indefatigable Jesuit; and to him, more than to any individual, except Allen, the continuance of a Latin Church in England must fairly be attributed. It has been said that Parsons, in some unknown way, suggested the Gunpowder Plot; he was, doubtless, one who would not have hesitated to employ assassination to gain his object; for he is strongly accused of having engaged Father Hesketh to poison the Earl of Derby, and he certainly, on one occasion, at least, engaged in a plot for the murder of Elizabeth; but there is no proof that he had any knowledge of the conspiracy for destroying James and his Parliament; indeed, he does not appear ever to have had any intercourse with the framers of the plot.

Edmund Campian, the companion of Parsons in the English mission, was a native of London, where he was born in January, 1540. Nothing is known of his parentage, but he was educated at Christ's Hospital, where he made such a rapid advance in learning, that, when only thirteen years old, he was chosen to pronounce a Latin oration before Queen Mary, on her accession to the crown. From thence he was elected scholar of St. John's College, in Oxford, by Thomas White, the founder of that institution, A. D. 1553. He took the degree of Master of Arts, A. D. 1564, and, soon after, was junior in the act, or public

disputation celebrated in the University. His eloquence and dialectic skill on this occasion excited universal praise, so that when Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford, in 1566, he was selected to pronounce the oration at her entry, and also to be respondent in the Philosophy Act, held at St. Mary's Church. The Queen paid him some very high compliments on the talent and skill he had displayed. This oration was published, in a posthumous edition of Campian's works, at Milan; it displays great classical taste and exuberance of fancy, but is sullied by excessive flattery of the Earl of Leicester. In 1568, he was the junior proctor of the University, being the first of his college who held that office. About this time, he was admitted to holy orders, receiving ordination from the hands of Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester, who was suspected of being secretly attached to the Romish faith.

In the year 1569, Campian was sent to Ireland, where he applied himself very diligently to the study of the antiquities of that country, and gave the results of his labour to the Earl of Leicester in an excellent work on Irish history, which, long after the author's death, was published by Sir James Ware. The anomalous condition of the Church of England in Ireland at this period has been described in the preceding volume. The attempt to convert an entire nation to a new creed, through the medium of a language which

they did not understand, and by the agency of missionaries who had no sympathy of any kind with their congregations, revolted Campian's feelings and common sense. He began to lend an ear to the Romish doctrines, which he had formerly abandoned, and he secretly became a partisan of the Pope. In one of his letters he describes very ludicrously the scenes which were of daily occurrence between English preachers and Irish congregations. Ward has versified the anecdotes with some skill in almost the only spirited passage in his unreadable satire on the Protestant Reformation. Having described the arrival of the English parson, and the wonder of the gaping rustics, to whom his appearance, gestures, tones, and words were equally unintelligible, he then pourtrays his first reading of the liturgy.

" *At what time sinners do repent,*
Et cætera, (for on he went,
As if his reverence were inspir'd,)
The people mightily admir'd,
And at his antic gestures gaz'd,
But at his language most amaz'd;
And grieved to the very soul,
To change their priest for such an owl.
At last, being all brimful of tears,
And he at this part of his prayers,
We 've done what we ought not to 've done,
Outbreaks *Ohone! Ohone! Ohone!*
From all parts of the congregation,
Which struck him into admiration,

And made him through excess of fear
Break off in middle of his pray'r;
With trembling lips, and face as pale
As death, though lately flush'd with ale;
But having ceas'd from their *Ohone!*
And nought of harm to parson done,
He, like a man, o'ercame his fear,
And re-assumes his book of pray'r;
With which, and in his former tone,
He very leisurely went on,
Till being come to, *Open thou*
Our lips, another *Hub-ub-boo*,
Sounded from all sides of the kirk,
And scar'd him from his godly work,
From desk and all, and made him fly
As fast as ever he could hye,
Till, stopp'd by sexton as he ran,
(The sexton was his countryman,
And of his cloth, too: but for want
Of benefice, was then content
To say Amen, and set out psalms,
Make graves, and into kirks to call 'em
By sound of bell, whene'er the time
Painted to him the hour of chime,)
But stopp'd (I say,) and seeing no ill
Meant by the noise, for all sat still;
He came at last out of his fits,
And gathered up his scatter'd wits;
Assumed new courage, and grew brisk,
And took his journey to his desk;
Where being seated in his chair,
Gives laud and praise, and falls to pray'r,
When lo, another *Hil-lil-lil-um*,
(Which he mistook for *kill, kill, kill, him*,)
So stunn'd him, that he could not pray
One word, but strove to get away;

But, apprehending that his case,
Was worse a thousand times than 'twas,
A sudden trembling seiz'd each limb,
His senses fail'd, his eyes grew dim,
And in a cold sweat down he fell,
Alive or dead, he could not tell.

Elizabeth's ministers made the Irish Church a refuge for such of their dependents as they were unable to find places for in England. Sir Henry Sidney, when Lord-deputy, and many others who held office in Ireland, frequently complained of the inefficiency, neglect, and occasional immorality of the clergy sent over to Irish benefices; they accused Elizabeth's council of adopting the policy of Jeroboam, and thrusting the "lowest of the people" into the priesthood. But, this was not the only circumstance which alienated Campian from his clerical brethren; the Puritans, disliked by the Queen, but protected by the most influential of her council, acquired a marked preponderance in the Irish Church, the patronage of which Elizabeth abandoned to her favourites. Campian, while a Protestant, belonged, like Bishop Cheyney, to that section of the English Church, which has far more sympathy with Rome than Geneva; and when the violence of the Puritans rendered it all but impossible to hold a middle course, he took that side to which from the beginning he was very closely approximated.

The zeal of Campian to reconcile proselytes to

the Church of Rome, soon revealed the secret of his apostacy; he was arrested, and menaced with trial; he had, however, the good fortune to escape from his prison to England, and thence to Flanders. Having entered himself a student in the English college at Douay, he openly read his recantation of the Anglican heresy, as it was there called, and became a member of the theological faculty. From thence he went to Rome, where he was admitted into the Order of Jesuits, A.D. 1573: it was about this time that he wrote his remarkable letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, pressing him, in a rude and dogmatical manner, to embrace and profess openly the Catholic faith, (insinuating that he was much inclined to it,) and telling him that, otherwise, his hands which had given pretended orders to many young men, would be burned in the flames of hell! "You have," he says, "according to the proverb, one foot already in the boat, and doubtless must soon be hurried before the dread tribunal, where you will have to give an account of your cavillings and prevarications. Then, those hands, which have admitted so many young men to spurious orders, will lacerate and tear your sulphurated body; that impure mouth, defiled by perjury and schism, will be closed by worms, by flames, and by a whirlwind of tempests; your ambitious and carnal pomp, your episcopal throne, your princely revenues, your lordly palace, your sounding titles,

your battalion of servants, your magnificent furniture, your enormous wealth, which now render you happy in the eyes of the people, will be changed into weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, into foulness, misery, pollution, and degradation." He then adds, as a climax to this goodly catalogue of torments, that Cheyney will have Calvin for a companion in the infernal dungeon, doubtless supposing that one who had, to some extent, created, in the bishop's belief, a hell upon earth, would be the most vigorous of tortures in hell itself.

Campian's merits were so conspicuous, that the general of his Order entrusted him with the administration of the Jesuit mission in Germany, which then required very skilful and delicate management. He lived for some time at Burne, and, afterwards, at Vienna, where he produced a tragedy called "Nectar and Ambrosia," which was acted before the Emperor, with great applause. From Vienna he removed to the new college, established by the Jesuits in Prague, where for six years he taught philosophy and rhetoric, and became a most constant preacher in the Latin tongue. Here he published a very excellent little treatise on rhetoric; and delivered a funeral oration over the body of the Lady Mary Cardon, in which he described the joys of Heaven, not less minutely than he had depicted the pains of hell, in his letter to the Bishop of Gloucester.

One passage in this oration, descriptive of the transitory nature of this life, deserves to be extracted. "Here we have no abiding place, but are merely sojourners in an inn, whence some of us are daily summoned to make room for other guests."

When it was determined that a mission should be sent to England, Campian was summoned from Rome, to be the companion of Parsons. On reaching London, he printed privately one of the most elegant little works ever produced on a controversial subject; it was called, "The Ten Reasons for confidence in attacking the enemies of the Faith," (*Decem Rationes, &c.*) Many copies were circulated at both the Universities, in spite of the most vigorous efforts for the suppression of the work. Walsingham had obtained early information of Campian's arrival in England, and resolved to have him arrested; but Elizabeth, who did not share the Calvinistic zeal of her secretary, for some time withheld her consent. She was at length prevailed upon to be passive, and Walsingham issued the warrant. It is believed by some, that his fiery Puritanical zeal was increased by his personal dislike of Campian, who had on several occasions mortified the secretary by extravagant praises of his rival, the Earl of Essex. Campian was so dearly loved by the English Catholics, that it was some time before Walsingham could find any one who would venture to act as an informer and spy. At length he applied to George Eliot, whose zeal as a Ca-

tholic had brought him within the grasp of the law, promising him pardon and a large reward, if he would ensure the capture of Campian. After a long and unavailing search in London, Eliot, accompanied by another spy, went into Berkshire, where they had reason to believe that Campian was concealed. They pretended that they were themselves in some peril on account of their religion, and they were, therefore, treated with confidence and hospitality by the Catholic gentlemen of that county. At length they reached the house of Edward Yates, Esq. at Lufford, near Wantage; they were invited to attend religious service, at which they were informed that Campian would officiate. Eliot, on some pretext, sent off his companion to bring up soldiers from the next town, and then, with affected devotion, proceeded to take his place in the congregation.

After mass had been celebrated, Campian rose to preach; his text was, "O, Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not," (Matt. xxiii. 37.)

In the midst of the sermon an alarm was given that the sheriff, with a strong force, was approaching the house. The congregation instantly dispersed; for insult, fine, and imprisonment were the penalties of the service in which they were engaged. Campian and two other priests secret-

ed themselves in a hiding-place, so artfully contrived that it would probably have remained undetected, had not Eliot learned its locality from the indiscretion of a servant. Hearing the officers approach, Campian declared that he would go and present himself to them as the person whom they sought; but he was forcibly withheld by his two companions, who were not aware that the secret of their concealment had been betrayed. The three clergymen were arrested together. Campian was brought in a kind of triumphal procession through Abingdon, Henley, and Colebrooke, to London, and so on to the Tower, having a paper pinned to his hat, declaring him to be "Edmund Campian, the most pernicious Jesuit." As he passed by the Cross which then stood in Cheapside he made a reverence to the symbol, which was resented with injury and insult by his brutal guards.

Torture in the reign of Elizabeth was employed with a wanton barbarity, which was never surpassed in the worst days of the Spanish inquisition. Rapacity united with fanaticism in dictating its application to a Catholic priest; he could be compelled to reveal in what houses he had been sheltered, whom he had reconciled to the Church of Rome, and what persons had been present when he celebrated mass; all of whom could be compelled to atone for their delinquencies by heavy fines, to the great benefit of Protestant

purses and the due reward of Protestant zeal. Campian was four times placed on the rack, and endured every refined extremity of torture which malignant ingenuity could devise, but he would not reveal the names of those by whom he had been sheltered until the commissioners gave him an assurance on oath that his harbourers should not be molested. They were, however, immediately after summoned before the Council, mulcted in heavy pecuniary penalties, and some, in addition, sent to prison. During the intervals of his torture Campian was summoned to various controversial conferences with the best English divines, and in these disputes is said not to have maintained his former reputation; on the other hand, we find it recorded by Strype that two of his audience were committed to prison for asserting that Campian "was discreet and wise, and disputed very well." Lingard, on the authority of Bartoli, asserts that Elizabeth had a secret interview with Campian in the house of the Earl of Leicester, whither the prisoner was secretly conveyed; that he acknowledged her to be his lawful Queen, and spoke doubtingly of the Pope's power to excommunicate or depose her. This, though, apparently, a very improbable anecdote, is confirmed by Campian's statement at the trial, "Not long since it pleased her Majesty to demand of me whether I did acknowledge her to be my Queen or no. I answered that I did ac-

knowledge her Highness not only as my Queen, but as my most lawful governess."

Torture was employed to procure evidence against the prisoners; Nichols, their principal accuser, who had changed from Protestantism to Romanism, and back again, in a very short space, when liberated from prison retracted all his charges against the missionaries, declaring that they had been extorted from him by the protracted tortures of the rack; and, furthermore, that his confessions had been altered and interpolated by Hopton, the lieutenant of the Tower. The agents of government afforded some confirmation of the account by not producing Nichols as a witness at the trial.

On the 12th of November, Campian, Sherwin, Bosgrave, Cottam, Johnson, Bristow, Kirbie, and Orton, were indicted of High Treason, "namely, that they, in the days of the last March and April, anno 22nd Eliz. at Rheims in Champagne, Rome, and other places beyond the seas, had conspired the death of the Queen's Majesty, the overthrow of the religion now professed in England, the subversion of the State, and that for the attempt thereof they had stirred up strangers to invade this realm; moreover, that the 8th of May next following, they took their journey from Rheims towards England, to persuade and seduce the Queen's subjects to the Romish religion, and obedience to the Pope, from their duties and allegiance

to her Highness, and that the 1st of June they arrived in this country for the self-same purpose." To this indictment they pleaded "Not Guilty," and the 20th of November was fixed for their trial.

The only point proved against these unhappy men was their refusal to take the oath of supremacy, and to abjure the deposing power of the Pope; and this is the chief matter urged against them in the "Vindication of the Trial and Sentence," which was published by authority. Campian's closing address to the court, when the mockery of the trial was concluded, bears the stamp and impress of truth. "It was not our death," he said, "that ever we feared. We knew that we were not lords of our own lives; and, therefore, for want of answer, would not be guilty of our own deaths. The only thing that we have now to say is, that if our religion do make us traitors, we are worthy to be condemned; but otherwise are, and have been, as true subjects as ever the Queen had any."

Campian's behaviour on his trial has been sometimes misrepresented; he displayed great acuteness, ability, and presence of mind, in refuting, not the evidence, but the strained inferences by which it was attempted to be shown that he was guilty of constructive treason; his coolness baffled the practised skill of Anderson, the Queen's counsel, who, on one or two occasions, quite lost

his temper. One point on which Anderson relied was, that copies of oaths, presumed to be treasonable, had been found in houses which Campian had frequented. The prisoner replied that there was no proof of his having known of these oaths, much less administered them. Thereupon, the following bit of dialogue ensued.

Anderson.—"It could not be otherwise intended but that you ministered these oaths, and that being found behind you, it was you that left them. For, if a poor man and a rich man come both to one house, and that after their departure a bag of gold be found hidden, forasmuch as the poor man had no such plenty, and therefore could leave no such bag behind him, by common presumption it is intended, that the rich man, and no other did hide it. So you, a professed Papist, coming to a house, and there such reliques found after your departure, how can it otherwise be implied than that you did both bring them and leave them there, so it is flat they came there by means of a Papist; *ergo*, by your means."

Campian.—"Your conclusion had been necessary, if you had also showed that none came into the house of my profession but I; but here you urge your conclusion before you frame your minor: *ergo*, it proveth not."

Anderson.—"If here, as you do in schools, you bring in your minor and conclusion, you will

prove a fool, but minor or conclusion I will bring it to purpose anon."

There can be no doubt that certain members of the Catholic body, most of them belonging to the Order of the Jesuits, had formed treasonable designs against Elizabeth; but it is utterly impossible to comprehend how Campian could, with any shadow of justice, be held responsible for the proceedings of Saunders, Allen, and Parsons. The common sense of the English people, notwithstanding the excited state of public feeling at the time, revolted against such an absurdity, and loud murmurs were heard. There was then published, "A Particular Declaration or Testimony of the Undutiful and Traitorous Affection borne against her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other Condemned Priests;" it recites some extracts from the writings of Saunders and Bristow, but the whole matter relating to Campian is contained in the following paragraph:

August 1st, 1581.—"Edmund Campian being demanded whether he would acknowledge the publishing of these things, before-recited, to be wicked in the whole, or in any part: and whether he doth, at this present, acknowledge her Majesty to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretended Queen, and in possession of her crown

only *de facto?* He answereth to the first; that he meddleth neither to nor fro, and will not further answer, but requireth that they may answer. To the second; he saith that this question dependeth upon the fact of Pius Quintus, whereof he is not to judge, and, therefore, refuseth farther to answer.

"EDMUND CAMPIAN."

"This was thus answered and subscribed by Edmund Campian, the day and year above written, in the presence of us, Owen Hopton, Robert Beal, John Hammond, Thomas Norton."

Campian's answer is, no doubt, unsatisfactory; it may even be supposed that he held the obnoxious doctrines to which reference is made, but the only overt act by which such an inference could be justified, is his refusal to take the oath of supremacy. An oath which many would reject, and have rejected, without ever being suspected of a want of allegiance. It is notorious that the lives of all the priests would have been spared if they had consented to take that oath, and they must, therefore, be regarded as martyrs to their religion, not sufferers for treason.

It is, however, a proof of the great advance which sound principles had made, that even bigots had become ashamed of religious persecution; they still kept the thing but they repudiated the name. Lord Burleigh published a very elabo-

rate pamphlet to prove that Elizabeth had never condemned any person to death on account of religion. It must, however, be remembered that this apology for the execution of the Jesuits and seminary priests, gave great offence to the Calvinistic Puritans; they insisted that the victims had been righteously put to death as idolaters, and they considered the allegation of treason to be a wicked paltering with principle, and a miserable evasion of the truth.

There is some reason to believe that both Elizabeth and Leicester were willing to save Campian; many persons were sent to his prison to persuade him into such a compliance as might furnish a plausible pretext for granting him a pardon. The Queen could not forget the time when she heard him deliver one of the best orations ever made in her honour, and she must have given credit to the protestations of loyalty which he so recently made, when admitted to her presence in the house of the Earl of Leicester. The Earl evinced an anxiety to save Campian by procuring him that interview, but he was too heavily fettered by his connection with the Puritan party to venture on any further interference on behalf of a Jesuit, especially as the obstinate inflexibility of the prisoner did not afford the shadow of a pretence for commuting his sentence.

Many Catholic, and nearly all Protestant writers,

have blamed the obstinacy of Campian at this period; but with him "the bitterness of death was past," the horrid tortures to which he had been subjected on the rack had so lacerated his frame that life would have been to him but a continuation of misery. "Both his arms," writes an eye-witness of his trial, "being pitifully benumbed by his often cruel racking before, and having them wrapped in a fur cuff, he was not able to lift his hand so high as the rest did, and was required of him; but one of his companions kissed his hands so abused for his confession of Christ, took off his cuff, and so lifted up his arm as high as he could, and he pleaded *Not Guilty*, as the rest did." There can be no doubt that he was sincere in his opinions, and, in the miserable condition to which he had been reduced by torture, there are few men of even inferior firmness who would not have preferred the ignominy of the gibbet, which, after all, could be but of brief duration, to a life of pain and suffering purchased by unworthy compromise.

It is not a little whimsical that this tragedy, like most others of the period, should have been connected with the farce of one of Elizabeth's matrimonial speculations; her third French lover, the second Duke of Anjou, was at this period in London, and everybody believed that he was certain to become the husband of the Queen. The alarm of the violent Protestant party was

at the highest; it was believed that Elizabeth, influenced by her young lover, was about to abandon the Reformed religion, and restore the ancient religion with all its unpopular observances and severities. It was believed that no more efficacious refutation of this calumny could be given than the hanging of some priests and making the gallows a pledge for the Queen's sincerity. From the moment that the impolitic concession was made to Puritanical clamour, by issuing a warrant for Campian's arrest, it was scarcely possible for Elizabeth to retrace her steps without provoking an outburst of popular indignation. All through, however, she exhibited great reluctance to adopt such cruel measures, and the weight of guilt incurred ought not to press too heavily on her head. Such was the impression of the victims themselves, and they manifested it in a place where they could not be suspected of adulation, when they stood on the verge of eternity at the place of execution.

Fosgrave, a Jesuit, Rishton, a secular priest, and Orton, a layman, after their conviction and condemnation, made their peace with the government by consenting to take the oath of supremacy, and abjure the claims of the Pope to temporal supremacy. Campian, Sherwin, and Briant, the leaders of the recusants, were selected to undergo the penalties of high treason. As was then usual, they were drawn on hurdles from

the prison to Tyburn, Campian, as the principal delinquent, being placed on a sledge by himself. A portion of the mob shouted and insulted him as he passed along, but others showed signs of commiseration, and prayed that he might be granted strength to support the barbarities of his sentence. Charles Howard, the Lord-Admiral, presided at the revolting scene; he required Campian to ask forgiveness of the Queen, to which the Jesuit meekly replied, "Wherein have I offended her? In this I am innocent. This is my last breath: in this give me credit. I have and I do pray for her." Lord Howard, less apparently for his own satisfaction than that of others, asked for which queen he prayed? did he pray for Elizabeth the Queen? Campian replied "Yes; for Elizabeth, my Queen and your Queen." When he ascended the ladder, and his neck was fixed in the fatal noose, he began to address the people, saying, "We are made a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men;" he was interrupted by the sheriff, who would only permit him to request the spectators to repeat the creed, while they witnessed his dying agonies, and make that profession of faith for him, which he was no longer able to make for himself. The words were hardly uttered when his feet were thrust off the ladder. Lord Howard would not permit him to be cut down until he was quite dead, an act of mercy which was afterwards

brought against him, as a proof of his favouring Popery.

The barbarous butchery prescribed by law was practised on the senseless corpse while the two remaining victims looked on. This was probably intended by Lord Howard, who was a humane man, as an act of mercy, to terrify the poor men into such a compliance as would have saved their lives. But they flinched not at the sight of so horrid a spectacle, and only showed their knowledge of what was transacting by prayers for the repose of the soul of their departed brother. When the executioner had completed his first mutilation, he came to the next victim, and, laying his hands upon him, shouted with brutal exultation, "Come, Sherwin, take your earnings!" Sherwin, who was a scholar worthy of Exeter College, where he was educated, and a gentleman of the most mild and winning deportment, took no notice of the insult, but, with a look of calm submission, kissed the gory hands of the insolent ruffian. The crowd, which was immense, and had among it three earls, six barons, several knights, with other persons of high rank, was much excited by this remarkable display of patience and resignation; they insisted that the sufferer should be allowed to say what he pleased. He ascended the ladder, and is said to have made a very affecting speech, no part of which has been preserved, and then inserted his neck in

the noose himself. The spectators were affected to tears; they with one accord exclaimed, "Good Sherwin, the Lord receive thy good soul!" He, too, remained suspended until life was extinct.

Briant still remained: he was a very handsome young man, who had not attained his thirtieth year; but the firmness with which he made a profession of his faith, seems to have deprived him of the sympathies of the crowd. He protested that he was innocent not only of treasonable actions, but even of treasonable thoughts, attesting his sincerity by praying for Elizabeth with zeal and fervour. The officers of government were much alarmed at the effect which these dying declarations produced upon the spectators; care was taken to conceal the place where their mutilated remains were interred, and it remains a secret to this day, for it was not unreasonably feared that their place of sepulture might have become an object of pilgrimage, and that their relics might have received the reverence due to martyrs.

Seven more prisoners were convicted of the same offences on the day following Campian's trial; they were executed in two separate parties; but the effect of such barbarity was directly contrary to what had been expected. The mob of London, unlike that of Paris, is easily satiated with blood; at this very time the Parisians were on the brink of insurrection, because the govern-

ment would not give a sufficient number of Huguenots to be publicly tortured; while the Londoners, who were not less fanatical in their hatred of Popery than the Parisians in their rage against Protestantism, exhibited their disgust at legal butcheries in a form so significant, that the persecutors were forced to pause in their career.

Cardinal Allen appealed to Europe against the slaughter of the missionaries in an eloquent and feeling pamphlet, "On the English persecution," which excited a great sensation throughout Europe. It was answered by Lord Burleigh, who entitled his reply, "English Justice;" and so anxious was this statesman to have his views circulated, that he caused his pamphlet to be translated into several languages. In substance, his defence is that the Pope's bull of deposition and excommunication was, in fact, a manifesto or declaration of war against Elizabeth, and that those who came to this country for the purpose of reconciling English subjects to the Pope, were guilty of enlisting adherents to a public enemy, which was an act of treason within the statute of Edward III, and according to the laws of all civilized communities. Many Romanists, amongst others Watson and Weston, acknowledged the validity of this reasoning, and, so far as we can discover, there was very little sympathy for the fate of the Jesuits among the

great body of the English Catholics, who attributed to them the awakened suspicions of the government, and the increased severities to which they were in consequence subjected.

It is nearly certain that the advantages obtained by the institution of seminaries for the missionary priests, which gave to the Latin church in England a regular succession of clergy, were counterbalanced by the great unpopularity produced by the intrigues of the Jesuits, and particularly by the perverse efforts of Allen and Parsons to reduce England under the domination of Spain. The Jesuits terrified everybody; but, after all, people were more frightened than hurt; the bark of the Jesuits was alarming; but it soon appeared that ordinary precautions would avert their bite; they, and others, imagined that they were doing something because they excited commotion; but, like all who attempt to revive an exploded system, they only produced a complicated piece of machinery, which they could neither work with advantage, nor take to pieces with safety. The very perfection of their organization rendered them powerless, as it concentrated their efforts to the attainment of objects that were morally impossible; they thus became contemptible to every man of sense, and formidable only to the several varieties of women and children.

POPE SIXTUS V.

ALTHOUGH the name of the Papacy was very freely employed in the various political and religious controversies of Elizabeth's reign, and every struggle was pretended to be, more or less, an effort to extend or to limit the powers of the Court of Rome, yet an attentive examination will convince the historical student that all substantial power and glory had departed from the Vatican before the accession of Elizabeth. The Pontiffs, indeed, flaunted across the stage in their gorgeous robes, assumed the strut of theatrical monarchs, and enacted the lion's roar louder than sung the joiner; but the secret of the actors had been detected, the spectators knew that they only looked upon a pageant, and when an actor, duped by the success of a clap-trap, presumed to act as if his royalty were real, a very prompt hint was given from all sides of the theatre to recall him to his senses. It was for this reason that the Popes sought rather to aggrandise themselves as temporal princes, than to recover their spiritual supremacy over the kingdoms of Christendom; they did not, indeed, abandon their pretensions

to the homage of sovereigns,—it was a delusion too gratifying to human pride to be easily resigned,—but Italy was the horizon which bounded their dearest political interests and affections; they were more anxious to add a city or district to the patrimony of St. Peter, than to bring all the kingdoms of northern Europe within the pale of the Holy Church. Their pretensions to universal domination often led to a course of policy at variance with their views as Italian Princes, and, still more frequently, their desire to enlarge their private domains, threatened their shadow of spiritual empire with utter ruin. The monarchs of France and Spain, particularly when the latter was united to the empire, contended for mastery in Italy, and the Popes had constantly to compromise the interests of their religion in order to prevent the decisive triumph of either of the rivals, being aware that whichever succeeded would reduce the Papal States to a tributary province, or, like Napoleon in later times, render them an integral part of a new empire.

This collision between the spiritual and temporal interests of the Papacy, gave rise to many strange scenes; not the least whimsical was the conduct of Charles V, when the Pope, after the sack of Rome, had been taken prisoner by the imperial armies; he ordered prayers to be offered up in all the churches for the speedy

deliverance of the holy Pontiff, but at the same time gave orders that he should be held in rigid durance until he had complied with all the rigorous conditions which the Emperor fixed as the price of his ransom.* A Turkish writer relates the story of some very sanctified Dervish who was detected in a theft; when brought before the Cazee he pleaded the privileges of his order, appealing to the law which forbade any true Moslem to lay a hand on one who had performed so many pilgrimages; the Cazee assented to the law, but he ordered the delinquent to be severely scourged by Christian slaves, while all the Mahomedans present knelt before the sufferer and humbly supplicated the benefit of his intercession and prayers. The Popes knew well that there were many princes, who, without the same show of justice, were well disposed to imitate the ingenuity of distinction manifested by the Cazee; to give them all the lip-reverence due to their character as Pontiffs, and, at the same time, extort from them all the sacrifices which powerful princes are accustomed to require from the weak. The old jest on the Prince-bishop of Liege must have frequently occurred to their memory with a sharpness of application which destroyed their relish for the joke; that worthy prelate, while at the head of a noble body of

* It was wittily said of this Pope, while in prison, "*Certissime hic Papa non potest errare.*"

troops, was asked by a spectator, "how he, a minister of religion, could engage in the iniquities of war?"—"I wage war," replied the prelate, "in my character of prince, not of archbishop." "And pray," continued the questioner, "when the devil carries off the prince, what will become of the archbishop?" The Emperor Charles gave the moral when he imprisoned the Pope as a prince, and ordered public supplications for the deliverance of the Pontiff.

Another and more important difficulty perplexed the councils of the Vatican; Luther, Calvin, and their followers did not stand alone in demanding a reform of the Latin Church; the opinion was general throughout Christendom that its ecclesiastical constitutions had grown into a complicated nuisance, that the entire edifice required to be pulled down and re-constructed. In fact, the Popes had less reason to fear their Protestant opponents than their own honest partisans; they were in greater danger from Trent than from Augsburgh or Geneva; but, fortunately for them, the great majority of the Trentine fathers had each their own bit of profitable corruption to defend, and though clamorous at first for general reform, rapidly cooled in their zeal, when they saw that their own pet abuses would be swept away in the process of innovation. Such conduct need not surprise us when we find many of the warmest advocates of free-

trade exceedingly zealous in opposing the abolition of any monopoly in which they have themselves a personal interest, however slight. The efforts to oppose reform, and, at the same time, to preserve the character of rulers ready to abolish any notorious and proved abuse, compelled the Popes to adopt, in some instances, a temporizing and vacillating course of policy, and in others to pretend an excessive dread of the Protestant Reformers, and by raising an infuriate clamour against the progress of heresy, to drown the still small voice of reason, which, in spite of all their efforts, was occasionally heard in their councils. Such a course of policy must have signally failed had it not been seconded by intemperate zeal, rapacious selfishness, and persecuting fanaticism on the part of their opponents; every crime and every folly committed by the Protestants gave a new addition of strength to the Papacy; Elizabeth's Protestant Inquisition was of far more service to the Romish cause than the Inquisition in Spain, and Calvin's tyranny at Geneva effected greater results for the Vatican than the cruelties of the Duke of Alva in Flanders. The Court of Rome, as we have already mentioned, evinced its consciousness of the services which were thus unconsciously rendered to it, by sending emissaries into England for the purpose of fanning into further violence the fiery fanaticism of the Puritans.

It is not easy to disentangle the web of tortuous policy produced by such a combination of circumstances, particularly as the course pursued varied under successive pontiffs. We have, therefore, resolved to direct our attention to the Pope who first, in this trying period, gave strength, uniformity, and consistency to the spiritual administration of the Holy See, and whose personal history possesses much anecdotic interest, independent of the very important share he held in the general policy of Christendom. Sixtus V, in any age, would have been remarkable as a man, a prince, and a pontiff, but the times in which he lived brought out his qualifications in high relief, so as at once to excite and fix the attention.

When the Turkish armies, in the first overwhelming burst of their fury, poured their savage hosts into Illyria and Dalmatia, the Sclavonian inhabitants of those provinces fled into Italy to escape from the cruelties of the destroyers. Crowds of them were to be seen along the coasts of the Adriatic, extending their hands towards the sea and raising their eyes to heaven in prayer that means of deliverance might arrive before the Ottoman hordes arrived. The eastern states of Italy responded to the appeal; their galleys brought over whole families of helpless exiles, who settled in the marshes of Ancona and the adjacent districts. Amongst the fugitives was

Zanetto Peretti, who had been a man of some rank in his own country, but, having lost all his property by the Turks, was compelled to support himself by labour, in the seignory of Montalto, which he had chosen as the place of his exile. From him descended Francis Peretti, the father of Sixtus V, who, being unable to pay some debts which he had contracted, removed to the village of La Grotte, near Fermo, where, through the influence of a relative, he obtained the situation of gardener in a gentleman's service. "La Grotte," says Ranke, "is a remarkable spot; the ruins of a Temple of the Etrurian Juno Cupræa stood amidst the trees and shrubs of the garden, which, at Fermo, enjoys a milder climate than any other part of the Marsh of Ancona, and abounds in the finest fruits of the south."

After a service of six years, Peretti had given so much satisfaction to his employer, that he bestowed upon him the hand of a favourite servant-maid, named Gabana, and advanced him sufficient money to take a garden on his own account. Peretti was struggling with the various difficulties which beset the life of a poor man, especially when his perplexities are increased by the prospect of a young family; under these circumstances he was consoled by a dream, in which he asserted that he was divinely assured of prosperity being brought to his house by the son who was about to come into the world. So

impressed was he with this vision that, in hopeful anticipation, he named the boy Felix, and never doubted that the promise would be realized, though he was at the time obliged to have recourse to domestic servitude, while his wife contributed to the maintenance of the household by acting as an occasional attendant to the lady Diana, a daughter-in-law of Peretti's master. It is interesting to know that Diana survived to witness the elevation of the little infant, whom she had aided in supporting, to the dignity of Supreme Pontiff, and that the Pope received her, when she visited him, with the greatest respect and affection. Francis Peretti had two other children; a son, Anthony, of whom little is recorded, and a daughter, Camilla, whom we shall have occasion frequently to mention.

Felix Peretti was born the 13th of December, 1521, but he was accustomed to date his existence from the year 1525, in which he recovered from a very dangerous attack of the small-pox, traces of which he carried to his grave. In 1527, the year in which Clement VII. was seized and made prisoner by the Imperialists, Felix met with an accident which nearly proved fatal. The officers of justice came in search of his father, either for debt or some trifling offence; the boy was so frightened at their appearance, that he sought shelter in the garret of an old ruinous house, and fell through the rotten flooring, from a height of

twenty feet, on the rough pavement below. A poor woman who saw him fall gave the alarm; he was taken to the house of a neighbouring surgeon, where it was found that he had broken both his legs and both his arms. The limbs were carefully set, and the surgeon paid so much attention to the case, that, in a few months, the child was perfectly restored. The misfortune of the son saved the father; for, during the confusion occasioned by the accident, Peretti escaped from the officers. After he had become Pope, he frequently alluded to this accident, saying, "If Clement VII. could have taken such a leap as I did in the year that he was imprisoned, he would not have had occasion to pay such a heavy ransom to his enemies."

When Felix was nine years old, his father placed him in the service of a neighbour, to watch the fruit and tend the sheep: for some act of disobedience his master removed him to the more degrading occupation of swine-herd,—an incident which, in some degree, laid the foundation of his future fortunes. The pathway to the village school lay through the field where Felix fed his hogs; he applied to the children to teach him what they had learned themselves, and in this way he acquired the first rudiments of knowledge. It happened that, in the beginning of February, 1531, Michael Angelo Selleri, a Franciscan friar of some eminence, going to preach at

Ascoli, lost his way near La Grotte, and applied to Felix, whom he saw tending his hogs, for a direction. The boy proffered his service as guide, which was accepted. On the road, the friar entered into conversation with his new friend, and was charmed with his ready wit and pertinent answers. He inquired into his circumstances, and, finding that the boy had an extraordinary thirst for learning, which the poverty of his parents rendered them unable to gratify, used his interest to have him admitted into the school attached to the Franciscan monastery at Ascoli. Fra Salvatore, also a Franciscan, distantly related to the Perettis, contributed to defray the expenses of the young aspirant's education. So eager was Felix in his studies, that he remained at the school from morn to night, with no other refreshment than a piece of coarse bread, which he ate at noon by the side of a spring of water, at which he quenched his thirst. This ardour was greatly increased by the account he received of his father's dream, which inspired him with the belief that he was predestined to achieve greatness.

The Franciscans were greatly pleased at the rapid progress of the boy in all branches of literature, and they admitted him into full brotherhood before he had attained his thirteenth year,—the Tridentine decree, prohibiting such early vows, not being yet in existence. He took the habit

of the order, retaining the name of Felix, upon the same day that Clement VII. died. When this intelligence was brought to Ascoli, the warden said to him, "You are born to religion on the same day that the Pope is dead to the world." Felix answered, "I had rather wear the habit of St. Francis than that of the Sovereign Pontiff." The warden replied, "Perhaps you may live to wear both." Charles V, having captured Tunis, and liberated several thousands of Christians, about the time that Henry VIII. separated from the Church of Rome, the Pope ordered public thanksgiving to be offered up in all the churches of Italy for the success of the Imperial arms. Felix assisted the sacristan in nailing up tapestry to decorate the chapel for this festival; but while thus employed, he fell from the top of a very high ladder to the ground, without receiving any serious injury. When he got up, he could not help exclaiming, "The devil take him who has been the occasion of this! It is a good joke to see his Holiness so mightily overjoyed at another person's taking a wretched piratical town, from which he will never obtain the slightest advantage, whilst he does not show any sign of concern for the loss of a rich and opulent kingdom, which used to acknowledge him as head of the church."

Having filled with credit many subordinate offices, and exhibited great dialectic skill in several of the scholastic disputations which were

then so much in vogue, Felix was admitted to deacon's orders, and, soon after, appointed to preach before a synod of Italian bishops, on the feast of the Annunciation. His first essay established his fame for pulpit oratory; but he, sometimes, exhibited the imprudence of youth in his sermons: on one occasion, referring to the recent death of Martin Luther, he bitterly reproached the whole order of Augustinian friars, to which the great Reformer had belonged, and was forced to atone for his indiscreetness by a public recantation. He took an early opportunity of visiting La Grotte, where, at the request of his parents, he preached in the parish church; he took for his text "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak to confound the mighty." (1 Cor. i. 27.) The magistrates were so pleased with his sermon, that they voted him a present of twenty crowns, which he bestowed on his sister, Camilla, as part of her portion.

The fame of Felix soon procured him the office of preacher to the convent of the Holy Apostles, in Rome, where a curious adventure became very instrumental in advancing his fortune. He gave public notice that, on a particular Sunday, he would examine the doctrines of the leading Reformers on the question of predestination, and a Lutheran, who happened to be at Rome, resolved to attend the church out of curi-

osity. Felix took for his text "I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine" (John, x. 14), and delivered a discourse of great learning and eloquence. When the Lutheran went home, he copied from his notes every distinct proposition enunciated by the preacher, and appended to each the pithy comment, "THIS IS A LIE!" He then sent this precious piece of criticism in a letter to Felix. The latter transmitted the paper to the Inquisition; and this brought him the acquaintance of Michael Ghislieri (afterwards Pope Pius V.), who was then Chief Inquisitor. Ghislieri was so deeply impressed by the acuteness and penetration of Peretti's remarks that he embraced him with tears, and vowed to him the affection of a brother.

His growing prosperity did not alienate his love from his family; he corresponded with the curate of La Grotte, whom he had directed to watch over them; and it is pleasing to find the future Pope interested by such details as are contained in the following extract from one of the worthy curate's letters:—

"Your brother, who is a mason, gets a very good livelihood, and is, in a manner, engaged to Mary, daughter of John Tabotto, the tailor, who has a good house, with a pretty garden, and no other children to leave them to. So that I think it a good match for him, and only wait for your consent and approbation, which they confidently

expect. Your sister is courted by Andrew Botero, a carpenter, who is, at least, twenty years older than her; but he is highly esteemed both by her and your parents, as he is a very honest man, and in good business. The love and respect which she has, and always had, for so worthy a brother, will not suffer her to make any promise, though nothing else is wanting, until she is assured that the match is not disagreeable to you. Her lover is often with me, and expresses the utmost impatience to hear his doom."

Peretti's reply is so interesting in itself, and so creditable to him, that it must be inserted entire.

"SIR,—I received a double pleasure from your letter, as it gave me at the same time an account of my poor family, and an affectionate proof of the continuance of your friendship. The kind concern you express for the welfare of my relations, and the high opinion I have of your prudence, justly demand my ready consent to whatever you advise or think will be for their advantage. Nothing further remains to be done on my part but to return you hearty thanks for the favours you have already bestowed upon us, and to desire a continuance of your good offices, until the affairs you mention are brought to a conclusion. I could wish fortune, or, more properly speaking, the Divine providence, had put it in

my power to show the affection I ever had for my family in a better manner, and to convince you by something more substantial than thanks of the grateful sense I entertain of your kindness. But what can I do? *Wherewith shall I save Israel?* 'Behold, *my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.*'* Yet I have great reason to be thankful, and admire the goodness of Almighty God, in raising me out of the dust to serve at his altar. I here send you enclosed three letters, one for my dear parents, another for my brother Anthony, and the third for my sister, which I desire you to peruse, as they will serve in some measure to show that I rejoice with them in the approaching marriage, and how much I think we are all obliged to you. With this letter you will receive seventy crowns, ten of which you will please to give to my poor mother, to make some little entertainment upon this occasion; and the other sixty to my sister, as an addition to her fortune, with which she ought to think herself not a little honoured, as it is chiefly derived from the benevolence and generosity of the Cardinal, protector of our order.† In my letter to her I have made use of a quotation out of the Acts of the Apostles, viz. '*Aurum et argentum non sunt mihi, quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do,*'‡ which I beg you will

* Judges vi. 15. † Cardinal Carpi.

‡ Acts iii. 6. "Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, give I unto thee."

be so kind as to explain to her. Perhaps Heaven may enable me hereafter to do a more material service to both them and you. In the meantime believe me, your affectionate friend and servant,

"FELIX PERETTI."

"Rome, May 20th, 1554."

Some time after the marriages, Peretti visited his family at La Grotte, and dined at his father's cottage, to the great mortification of his travelling companion, who was descended from a noble family, and preposterously proud of his rank and origin. This was one among many of the instances in which he provoked resentment by trampling on the conventional etiquette of society; he was involved in many quarrels with the ecclesiastics of Rome, who avenged themselves by preventing Cardinal Pole from taking him to England, when Mary had reconciled that country to the Holy See. His enemies had soon after a fairer opportunity of injuring him; he prepared "A System of Instruction for Confessors and Penitents," which rivalled in its indelicacy the worst parts of Dens and Sanchez; this was brought before the Inquisition, and might have been severely punished but for the assiduous friendship of Cardinal Carpi. Soon afterwards Cardinal Caraffa (Paul IV.) was elected Pope, and, on the urgent recommendation of Carpi, he appointed Felix Peretti chief commissary of the Inquisition at Venice.

The efforts of the inquisitor to extend the powers of his tribunal, and to repress the disorders of the Franciscan friars, involved him in serious troubles with the senate and clergy of Venice. He treated both with the most insulting haughtiness, confident that he would be supported in all his exertions by the authority of the Pope and of his friend Ghislieri, who had now become the Cardinal Alexandrino. But the death of Paul IV., which took place rather suddenly, left him exposed to the resentment of his enemies, and he made his escape to Rome. Here he found the populace so enraged at the proceedings of the Inquisition that they stormed the palace where that tribunal was accustomed to meet, and burned it to the ground. They then turned their resentment against the memory of the late Pope, having cut off the head and hand of the exquisite marble statue erected to his honour, and dragged the trunk three days together through the streets of Rome, with every mark of contempt and indignation. This event made Peretti very reluctant to resume his inquisitorial functions, but, on the accession of Pius V., he was induced by Cardinal Alexandrino to return to Venice. He had not been more than a few days in the city when he provoked the senate to fiercer hostilities than before, and he would certainly have been murdered had he not made his escape under the cover of night.

A party was sent in pursuit of him, but, anticipating this danger, he had taken good care to place himself out of their reach. Soon after his return to Rome, a fellow-student meeting him said, "My friend, if you had not shown them a light pair of heels, the pantaloons* would certainly have tucked you up!" Peretti replied, "I have some thoughts of becoming Pope, and my scheme would be spoiled if I stopped to be hanged in Venice."

Soon after his return he was appointed one of the six consultors to assist the cardinals in carrying on the process against the nephews of the late Pope, who were guilty of the grossest irregularities and debaucheries. After a tedious trial, Cardinal Caraffa and his three cousins were convicted and executed, an act of severity which gave great offence to the nobility of Rome. When some persons blamed this rigour in Peretti's presence, he replied, that "the only rigour shown was keeping the delinquents nine months in prison, for if he had been Pope he would have released them in nine days."

In consequence of some disputes with the general of his order, Peretti was deprived of his rank as a Franciscan, but was consoled by being joined in the Legatine mission to Spain. Here he took an active part in extending the power

* The pantaloon of the pantomime generally wore a Venetian dress.

of the Inquisition, and acquired so much fame as a preacher that the king offered him a large salary if he would consent to become one of his chaplains. The elevation of his friend and patron, Cardinal Alexandrino, to the Papacy, with the title of Pope Pius V., opened a new career to Peretti; one of the earliest acts of the new Pontiff was to appoint him general of his old order, to the great annoyance of the Franciscans, who had declared him unworthy to fill an inferior station. He was soon after made a bishop, and also appointed one of the commissioners to report on the state of affairs in England. In this latter capacity he drew up the first sketch of the bull of deposition and excommunication which Pius V. fulminated against Queen Elizabeth.

In the year 1570, Peretti exchanged his name for that of Cardinal Montalto, his elevation, it is said, being chiefly owing to the zeal and talent he displayed in preparing the bull against Elizabeth. His father and mother were now dead, and he began to fear that his nephews would press him for promotion, and thus expose him to the imputation of nepotism, which would be a great impediment to his obtaining the Papacy. The expectations of his relatives, and the alteration in his manner towards them, are exhibited with so much simplicity in a letter addressed to him by his sister Camilla, and in

his reply to her application, that we shall insert both documents at full length.

The following is Camilla's letter, which she sent to Rome by her brother Anthony:

"Lord Cardinal, my dear brother,—The sacristan of our church, who is a very honest man, and one that I can trust with anything, writes this letter for me. If all your relations and friends were delighted to hear of your first being made general, and then bishop, you may be assured that they were overjoyed at the news of your being Cardinal, for which I humbly thank God with all my heart, and have no doubt but that the other Lords-Cardinal will in due time make you Pope. My son, who is now twelve years old, is grown a great boy, and is shortly to be apprenticed to his father; but we make him learn to read and write. Anthony's son goes to school, and is fond of learning, as you used to be; it would do you good to hear him talk of you; poor child, he often says, if his uncle should ever come to be a Pope, he shall be a Lord-Cardinal, which makes him mind his book, and behave like a good boy. If you will give us leave to come to Rome, we will set out immediately; my husband shall do what he can for you in his business, and I will wash and take care of your linen. My daughter is about fourteen: it is in your power, I suppose, to put

her as a servant into some nunnery, or get her a marriage-portion out of the money that is given every year to poor maidens.* All our neighbours say, you may now do us a great deal of good if you please, as we dare say you will; my husband would have come to Rome with brother Anthony, but I would not let him, as I expect you will soon send for us, and then I will come with them. If you keep Anthony with you, let us know by a letter, whether you would have us bring the whole family with us; and if so, I hope, dear brother, you will send us some money, that we may come on horseback. We long to hear from you, and not only I, but my husband and children, die with impatience to embrace you. I cannot tell whether you love me as you used to do; but this I know, that there is no alteration in the affection of,

"Lord Cardinal, my dear brother,

"Your dutiful and loving sister,

"CAMILLA PERETTI."

This letter, no doubt, displays an overflow of good feeling and pure affection; but it is just such an effusion as would have convinced a man of sense that his sister was not qualified to fill with credit a higher situation in life than that in which circumstances had placed her. There

* Large sums of money are annually disbursed for this purpose by the convent in Rome.

is a certain point to which, when persons sprung from humble origin have attained, the question of the course to be pursued towards relations and companions of youth assumes a very perplexing and painful aspect. Such a man rarely attains the position so far in advance of his early associates until late in middle life, when his habits and theirs are fixed irrevocably and irretrievably; when he has been accustomed to the refinement and enlargement of general society, while they have had all the roughness and narrowness of provincial life wrought into their very existence. They are sufficiently obtuse not to perceive their own deficiencies; he, from the very nature of the struggle by which he has reached his height, has become nervously sensitive of the breaches of etiquette which they must necessarily commit every moment. It is exceedingly doubtful whether elevation would add to their happiness; there is no doubt at all that it would produce his misery. Under such circumstances, the most prudent course for the person so circumstanced to adopt is, to leave his relatives in that position which alone they are fitted to occupy with credit, but, at the same time, to throw round that position all the additional comforts of which it is susceptible. Such was the line of conduct adopted by the Cardinal Montalto, and believing it to be at once the most prudent and the most truly affectionate, we cannot join in the censure which some

of his biographers have pronouced on the following answer to Camilla's letter :—

"SISTER CAMILLA,

"I had an account of our family by our brother Anthony, who at the same time delivered your letter to me. If it was in my power, and that I had not other cares of infinitely more consequence requiring my attention than that of enriching my relations, I would endeavour at least to make a competent provision for them. But, as God has been pleased to call me to His service alone, I shall use my utmost efforts to divest myself of all partiality to my kindred, and of every worldly affection.

"The sight of Anthony was a satisfaction to me; but I should have been much better pleased if he had stayed at La Grotte, whither I have ordered him to return. His Holiness did not honour me with the Purple for the mere purpose of affording me an opportunity to aggrandize my relations, but to attach me wholly to his service, and that of the Church. Though I am now a Cardinal, I still lead a monastic life, altogether retired from the noise and tumult of secular affairs. I told Anthony that he did well in sending his son to school, and approve of your doing the same; if it is possible I will procure them something out of the charitable collections that are made here, and remit it to your curate for

their use. At present I send you sixty crowns, by Anthony, to whom I have given the like sum. As for your daughter, I will endeavour to get her some portion of the alms which is given as a dowry to poor maidens on their marriage; and if any other opportunity offers of doing them a service I will not neglect it; but do not neglect the keeping of them at school.

"I cannot help pitying your simplicity in desiring to come to Rome. You seem to forget who you are,—at least not to know that you are not a proper person to mix in the society of the metropolis, especially under my roof, as ecclesiastics are not allowed to entertain any women in their houses. Let me advise you to be content with your condition, and believe me when I tell you, that a small pittance acquired by honest labour and industry, is infinitely preferable to all the fears and cares which are the constant attendants of riches. In short, this is all you must ever expect from me; except my prayers to God, for your health and welfare. You may assure yourself that my tenderness for you is not in the least diminished, and that I shall never be ashamed of calling myself

"Your affectionate brother,

"THE CARDINAL MONTALTO."

Anthony Peretti is said to have died from vexation at his disappointment in not receiving some

promotion from his brother, the Cardinal; the wardens of the church of the Holy Apostles offered to honour his remains with a magnificent funeral, but were prevented by Montalto, who said that such splendid obsequies were unsuited to the condition of the deceased. He exhibited, however, much sorrow on the occasion, and made a competent provision for the surviving family.

On the death of Pope Pius, Cardinal Buon Compagnon was elected to the Papacy, and took the name of Gregory XIII. He treated Montalto with much coldness, depriving him of his pensions, and excluding him from his councils, declaring that "he was an ignorant, dreaming fellow, and, therefore, worthless at a time when there was the greatest necessity for vigilance and activity." The Cardinal affected to be unconscious of this neglect; but he occasionally made pithy sarcastic remarks on Gregory's vacillating policy, which flew about from mouth to mouth, and, by their epigrammatic point, wounded the Papal advisers to the very quick. At the same time, he feigned to be ignorant and regardless of what was going on in the world; and when promoted to the bishopric of Fermo could hardly be persuaded to visit his diocese. But he had an able chaplain, who acted as his spy, and brought him accurate information of every important transaction in the Court and city. Through this agent he provided for his nephews, whom he

sent to remote schools, dreading to incur the suspicion of nepotism, which, as has been already said, might have been fatal to his advancement. About the same time, he took an active part in the reformation of the Calendar, which brought him into close contact with the most learned men of Italy, all of whom laboured to spread the fame of his extraordinary piety, disinterested poverty, and voluntary mortifications. With the same view to obtaining his darling object, the Papacy, he pretended to be much older and more infirm than he really was, declaring, when pressed to take a part in the administration, that "a man of his great age and weakness had nothing to do with the world, but to think how to go well out of it."

The sudden death of Gregory XIII. having created a vacancy in the Papacy, the most horrible disorders were committed during the interregnum, not merely by ordinary robbers and banditti, but by the Roman nobility, and even by the ecclesiastics. Montalto affected "to care for none of these things," but, seemingly, busied himself in revising the edition of the works of St. Ambrose, which he had published some months before. The palaces of five Cardinals were robbed while the see was vacant; that of Farnese, though defended by thirty armed servants, was plundered in the very middle of the day by troops of banditti which the young Roman nobles had hired for the purpose. Such an out-

rage naturally excited much discussion; when it was mentioned in the conclave, Montalto said, "I hope God will soon give us a Pope who will put an end to these disorders."—"If you should be the person," answered Farnese, "I dare say that there would be no cutting off of heads, or stretching of necks in your reign."—"God forbid!" replied Montalto, "that I, who expect to die every day, should think of taking away any other person's life." Some people who were present at this conversation, said, as they came away, "There is more occasion for a Pope of iron, like Farnese, than a Pope of wax like Montalto." This was the very feeling which the crafty Cardinal wished to produce; he was aware that most of the electors, if not actually accomplices in crime, were intimately connected with criminals, and that guilt is always anxious to calculate upon flexibility in the government.

At length, forty-two Cardinals entered the conclave to elect a new Pontiff; there were no less than fourteen candidates for the vacancy, not including Montalto, who was not even suspected of wishing for such elevation. All parties grew weary of a contest which was protracted for several days, until application was made to Montalto to allow himself to be put in nomination. He replied to the Cardinals, "If you are resolved to make me Pope, it will be only placing yourselves in the throne; we must share the Pontificate;

for my part, I shall be contented with the bare title; let them call me Pope, and you are heartily welcome to the power and authority." A violent fit of coughing, which seemed to threaten immediate dissolution, gave apparent evidence of the truth of this declaration of weakness. The Cardinals swallowed the bait, and, almost unanimously, elected their feeble brother, in whose name each expected to reign.

No sooner did the scrutiny show that Montalto had the legal number of votes, than every sign of age and infirmity disappeared; he threw aside his staff, and began himself to chant the *Te Deum*, baffling by his presence of mind the Cardinal Farnese, who, on perceiving the change, was disposed to declare that there was a mistake in the scrutiny. The usual formalities were gone through, the new Pope declared that he would take the name of Sixtus V., out of compliment to Sixtus IV, who, like himself, had been a member of the Franciscan order.

Whilst the Cardinals were investing him with the Pontifical robes, Sixtus stretched out his arms with so much vigour and activity, that Rusticucci could not avoid saying, "I perceive, holy Father, that the Pontificate is a sovereign remedy, since it can restore youth and health to old sick cardinals." The Pope, in a grave majestic manner, replied, "So I find it." Cardinal Farnese, who, at one time, seemed to have had the best chance of

success, consoled himself on his defeat, by laughing at the long faces of the Cardinals D'Este, Medicis, and Alexandrino, who had taken an active part in Montalto's elevation from their full belief in his infirmities: he whispered to Cardinal Sforza, "Charles V. resigned his crown in the morning, and repented of it in the evening; but I fancy that the noble lords opposite have commenced their repentance already."—"It will be well for them," replied Sforza, "if their repentance does not last longer than that of the Emperor." When Farnese, with obvious reluctance, came to perform the ceremony of prostration, before one whom he had been accustomed to despise, he said, "Your Holiness seems quite a different sort of man from what you were a few hours ago."—"Yes," replied the Pope, "I was then looking for the keys of Paradise, which obliged me to stoop a little; but now that I have found them, it is time to look upwards; for I have reached the summit of all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world."

The exhibition of a crucifix from one of the windows of the conclave, gave the usual signal to the people that the election was over. An immense multitude soon assembled in the Piazza of St. Peter, to whom the Cardinal-deacon announced the result in the usual form: "Behold! I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to you and to all people, the most illustrious Car-

dinal Montalto has been chosen Pope, and has taken the name of Sixtus V. Immediately the bells of every church and convent began to ring, the guns thundered a double royal salute from the castle of St. Angelo, and the city resounded with acclamations of "Long live Sixtus V.!" In the midst of this applause, the doors of the conclave were thrown open, the Cardinals filed out, with melancholy faces, downcast eyes, and lingering steps, followed by the Pope, borne on men's shoulders, no longer bowed down by the appearance of age and infirmity, but hale and erect, as if he had been restored to all the vigour of youth. "Long live the Pope!" shouted the admiring crowds, who, probably, attributed this wondrous change to a miracle; adding, according to custom, "Plenty, Holy Father, plenty, and justice!" To which he replied in a loud clear voice, "Pray to God for plenty, and be assured that I will give you justice!" The ominous declaration produced a perceptible effect, for it awoke echoes of alarm in many a guilty bosom. In the evening, he assembled several of the Cardinals, and told them in plain terms that he was resolved to rule with despotic authority. They reminded him of his promise to govern the Church by their advice and assistance. He replied, that he now found himself sufficiently strong to dispense with their aid, and that if he had told them a falsehood, he would give his confessor power to ab-

solve him from that sin; adding, that though they might have chosen him to promote their own interests, he had accepted the office solely to advance the interests of the Church. As they left his presence, Medicis, who was the most chagrined, said to his colleagues, "It is high time that we should provide for our safety: I foresee a great storm arising."

The disappointment of the cardinals afforded much amusement to the wits of Rome. On the following morning the statue of Pasquin appeared with a mashed turnip in his hand, and a label to the following effect attached:—

"You may, like this turnip, mash my brain,
If we choose for our father a monk again."*

It had been usual for a new Pope to grant a general pardon on his accession; but Sixtus was so far from complying with the custom, that he ordered four malefactors to be executed on the very day of his coronation; two by the axe, and two by the halter, declaring that such a spectacle would diminish the crowd of idle and disorderly persons who used to disturb the solemnity of that ceremony. The victims were four kinsmen of the name of Cora, who had been convicted of carrying concealed fire-arms. On

* "Mi sia rotto 'l capo, come questa rapa,
Si mai più frate sarà Papa."

the following days, several notorious bandits, including young men of high rank and family, were brought to the scaffold, in spite of the interest and intercession of their friends, who were not only sternly repulsed, but menaced with punishment if they further interfered with the due administration of justice. Cæsarino, a prelate to whom the Pope had been under many obligations when he was general of the Franciscan order, made a great effort to save three young men whom he had himself instigated to crime, but he only accelerated their fate, and would, in all probability, have shared it, had he not renounced the world, and retired into a monastery.

Sixtus invited his sister, with her family, to Rome, and made one of her grandsons, who was a young man of merit, cardinal; on the rest he conferred moderate pensions, but would not permit his sister or them to interfere with his government, or even solicit a favour. He also compelled Camilla to refuse the titles and honours proffered to her by the different states anxious to conciliate the Pope's favour.

The severity of Sixtus in the administration of justice was carried to an excess which nothing but the extreme profligacy of the times could justify. Crimes, of which he had, in former years, learned the secret in the confessional, were judicially investigated; offences, which years of

impunity seemed to have tacitly pardoned, were raked from their oblivion; the noble and the peasant, the ecclesiastic and the layman stood on an equal footing before his inexorable tribunal,—where, if a judge dared to show partiality, or even clemency, he was sure of being dragged from the bench, to take his place as a criminal. The rack was unscrupulously employed to obtain evidence; bandits were pardoned only on condition of betraying or murdering their comrades; hosts of spies were kept in pay, and priests were bound to give information of any remarkable crime revealed to them in confession. This extraordinary harshness was caricatured in a pasquinade, in which Pasquin was represented galloping away as fast as he could, and Marfurio asking "Why so fast?" to which he was replying, "By my faith, it is time to get away; for the Pope is in such a humour, that I believe he would show no favour to Jesus Christ himself!" Sixtus did not exhibit this rigour to his own subjects only; he treated the greatest princes with the same degree of roughness; so that, before he had been Pope two months, he had quarrelled with Philip II. of Spain, Henry III. of France, and Henry, King of Navarre,—to say nothing of the old squabble with Queen Elizabeth bequeathed to him by his predecessors. He had, however, a high respect for the two last-named adversaries, frequently saying, that "three such princes as

Henry of Navarre, Elizabeth of England, and Sixtus of Rome, were sufficient to govern the world." Elizabeth had no less respect for him, and, when pressed on the subject of matrimony, used jestingly to reply, that "she would have no husband but Pope Sixtus." When he was told of this, he laughed, and said "If we were married, we should become the parents of Cæsars and Alexanders." A secret agent of the Earl of Essex, named Carr, was employed by the Queen to open negotiations with the Pope, and he is said to have advised the English government to support the revolters in the Low Countries, for the purpose of humbling the power of Spain.

Sixtus, believing that his severities had rendered him unpopular, resolved to conciliate favour by some acts of ostentatious gratitude and generosity, to which he gave an air of whimsicality and theatric display sure to attract attention. Forty years before, a shoemaker at Macerata had given him credit for part of the price of a pair of shoes, on the condition of being paid if ever the purchaser became Pope. Having found, by inquiry, that the shoemaker was still alive, he summoned him to Rome, called him into his presence, and ordered that he should be paid the principal and interest. The shoemaker, after leaving his presence, naturally murmured at having been brought so long a journey for so trifling a sum; Sixtus summoned him back to his pre-

sence, and inquired if he had a son. The poor man replied that he had one, who was in orders; the Pope desired that he should be invited to Rome, and finding, on a strict examination, that he was a man of good character, bestowed upon him a bishopric in the kingdom of Naples. He conferred a similar reward upon Salviati, the prior of the Franciscans, from whom he borrowed four crowns, when escaping in disguise from the Venetians.

The finances, which had been left in a wretched condition by Gregory, were speedily recruited by the vigorous measures and wise economy of Sixtus. Under his government, Rome, for the third time, assumed the aspect of the capital of the world. Colossal aqueducts were constructed to supply the city with water; the pillars of Trajan and Antonine were restored; the obelisk in the front of St. Peter's, which had lain for ages neglected and prostrate, was raised on a new pedestal. It must be confessed, however, that the Pope's taste was not a little sullied by monkish fanaticism: he made some preposterous attempts to Christianize the monuments of pagan antiquity, and thus converted them into monsters of absurdity. But, notwithstanding his lavish expenditure on public buildings, he every year laid up a considerable sum in his treasury; and his supposed wealth greatly extended his influence with the contemporary sovereigns of Europe.

Sixtus hated the King of Spain, and was anxious to keep him perpetually involved in war, to prevent any interference with his own designs on the kingdom of Naples, which he hoped to annex to the territories of the Holy See. While he openly instigated Philip to invade England, he secretly supplied Elizabeth with information respecting the Spaniard's preparations, and gave her timely warning of the organization of the Invincible Armada. When the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, filled all Europe with horror and amazement, Sixtus applauded the firmness and courage of Queen Elizabeth in bringing a crowned head to the block, exclaiming "My God! what a glorious princess!" and then, stamping his foot, "What would I not give to have it in my power to signalize myself in the same manner!" Aware that these sentiments were not shared by his subjects, he issued an edict forbidding any one to write or speak anything derogatory to her honour, on pain of being sent to the galleys. He was, however, forced by those around him to take notice of the sad fate to which the Queen of Scotland had been brought by attachment to her religion, and, very reluctantly, went through the farce of excommunicating Elizabeth, with all the formalities of bell, book, and candle. On the other hand, Elizabeth caused the Pope to be excommunicated, in St. Paul's Cathedral, by the Bishop of London,—a

retort with which Sixtus was much amused, declaring that "she was a princess not to be frightened, and that he would do nothing more for the Spaniards." Though he refused to advance any money for the expedition, he sent whole chests of *Agnus Dei* medals, crucifixes, relics, rosaries, and similar trumpery, with which the Spanish officers so loaded themselves, that they looked more like pilgrims than soldiers.

Sixtus wrote a letter of consolation to the King of Spain when he heard of the destruction of the Armada, but Philip had now become suspicious of the Pope's sincerity, and of his designs upon Naples, so that, in his reply, he gave his Holiness a very broad hint that he had still sufficient strength to defend the integrity of his dominions, and to punish those who should make any efforts for their dismemberment. The Pope concealed his mortification, but he soon after took an opportunity of giving the French ambassador precedence of the Spaniard, and Philip, who was a devoted slave of etiquette, is said to have grieved more for this petty slight than for the loss of his mighty navy.

Previously to the accession of Sixtus, Rome had been so demoralized, that no woman could venture to appear in the streets by night, and ladies of remarkable beauty were not safe in the sanctuary of their own dwellings. To check this licentiousness, the Pope exhibited the most rigid severity in pu-

nishing the slightest insult to female honour or delicacy. One instance, illustrative of his strictness in enforcing the observance of decorum, deserves to be mentioned. The son of a Perugian advocate had settled in Rome, under the protection of the powerful Colonnas; he fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a widow, and asked her in marriage, but was refused by the mother, who designed the girl for one of her relations. One day, he met the young lady going to church, and suddenly lifting up her veil, snatched a kiss. Her mother made a great outcry, a mob began to gather, and the lover made his escape to the palace of the Colonnas. Complaint was made to the authorities, but, by the interference of the Colonnas, the young lady's relations were persuaded to consent to an immediate marriage, and a message was sent to his Holiness declaring that the matter had been compromised. Sixtus, however, was not satisfied; a body of sbirri were sent, and the bridegroom was seized just as he was about to sit down to the wedding dinner. The relatives of the bride and the patrons of the husband hastened to supplicate for pardon; but Sixtus informed them that justice had a right to be satisfied, and condemned the young man for five years to the galleys. The chain was fastened to him on the spot where the offence was committed. The young wife was so agonized by the event, that she died, within a few days, of a

broken heart. This and similar acts of severity put an end to the former scenes of violence and licentiousness, so that females could traverse the streets of Rome, with perfect safety, at any hour of the day or night.

Soon after this event, the Pope completed the erection of the Vatican Library, which he enriched with an unrivalled collection of valuable manuscripts, procured, at a vast expense, from every part of Europe. With this he connected a printing establishment,—the finest which then existed in the world,—and encouraged the publication of several valuable editions of the Holy Scriptures, both in the original tongues and in the principal modern languages of Europe.

The barbarous murder of the Duke of Guise by Henry III. of France excited little emotion in the Pope, who declared that "he would have acted in the same way, if he had been placed in the same circumstances:" but when he learned that the Cardinal of Guise had been involved in the sad fate of his illustrious relative, he became perfectly frantic. The remonstrances, submissions, and large atonements offered by the French ambassadors were of no avail with the enraged pontiff: he cited Henry to appear in Rome within sixty days, and show cause why sentence of excommunication and deposition should not be pronounced against him. But before he had an opportunity to take any steps for enforcing the

citation, intelligence arrived of the assassination of Henry by the fanatic Jacques Clement, and the consequent accession of the King of Navarre to the throne of France.

Notwithstanding the vehement solicitations of the bigots in his court, Sixtus could never be persuaded to send any assistance to the League, excepting the trifling sum of fifty thousand crowns,—and even that was sent with a very ill grace. To this line of policy he was led chiefly by his hatred and dread of the Spanish power, which would have been dangerously increased by the overthrow of the King of Navarre, and also by his personal admiration of the heroism of that prince, who had won his respect by the very acts committed in defiance of his authority. From the moment that Henry of Navarre had caused his protest against the Papal bulls of excommunication to be posted on the very gates of the Vatican, the Pope declared that a prince of such courage and noble resolution was worthy of a crown, and fitter to direct the affairs of a kingdom than his imbecile competitor, the Cardinal of Bourbon. Henry Cajetan, the Papal legate in France, did not adopt the same course of policy as his master; he declared himself the avowed partisan of the League and the Spaniards, which so provoked the Pope, that he recalled the letters of credit which he had given to Cajetan on the merchants of Lyons, and disavowed his

proceedings by a public protest. Mattenci, the Papal nuncio at Venice, was also a partisan of the Spanish interest; when the senate of that republic recognized the King of Navarre's title to the throne of France,—a course to which they had been secretly advised by Sixtus himself,—Mattenci protested against the recognition of an excommunicated rebel and contumacious heretic; but, finding that the senate treated him with contempt, he posted off to Rome, to make his complaint to the Pope. Great was his surprise and mortification to find, on his arrival, that he would not even be admitted to an audience, but was ordered immediately to return to his post. Mattenci was forced to comply, and his speedy return afforded a theme for much laughter and amusement to the Venetians.

Olivarez, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, was sent to remonstrate with Sixtus on his opposition to the League, and also on his zeal in circulating an Italian version of the Scriptures. Several of the cardinals joined in expostulating against the facilities thus afforded for the study of the Bible, but the Pope sarcastically replied that they ought to patronize the Italian version for their own sakes, as they had shown themselves ignorant of Latin. Enraged at this insult, they wrote to the King of Spain to repeat his remonstrance in a more urgent form: upon this, Philip commanded his ambassador "to use his

utmost endeavours with the Pope to suppress this edition, and to declare that if his Holiness did not, the King of Spain should be obliged to make use of such means to prevent its being read in his kingdom, as his zeal for true religion suggested, and the Almighty had put into his hands." Having received these orders, Olivarez immediately demanded an audience of the Pope, and represented to him, with much warmth, "how disagreeable this new version of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was to his master, and what scandal it gave to his whole court." Sixtus heard him harangue for more than an hour, and when, at length, he concluded, made no reply whatever. After a long interval of silence, the Count asked, "Will not your Holiness condescend to let me know your opinions on the matters I have laid before you?" "I am thinking," replied the Pontiff, with furious voice and vehement gesture, "to have you immediately thrown out of the window, for the purpose of teaching other people how to behave when they address themselves to the Supreme Pontiff!" So saying, he sprung from his seat, and rushed into another apartment. Olivarez, who was well acquainted with the temper of Sixtus, made all the haste he could to escape from the Vatican, fearing that the Pope would execute his menace, which, in fact, was not very unlikely. He did not think him-

self safe until he reached his own palace, and when he had a little recovered his spirits, he said to his friends, "Thank God! I have had a great escape to-day." The dissentient Cardinals were so daunted by the treatment of the ambassador, that they resolved to submit to the innovation without any farther remonstrance.

The King of Spain was so greatly enraged at the treatment of his ambassador, that he resolved to call a general council in some part of his dominions, and cite Sixtus to appear before it. He sent orders to Olivarez to take the opportunity of some solemn festival, at which the Pope should be present, to notify to his Holiness, publicly, the resolution of his Catholic Majesty "to convoke a general council at Seville, for the purpose of considering what was best to be done for the service of God and the glory of his holy religion, since his Holiness had taken upon himself to do everything without the advice, and often contrary to the opinion of the consistory, and had preposterously caused a Bible to be published which had given offence to all Christendom." Olivarez, having had already sufficient evidence of the Pope's temper, very reluctantly prepared to comply with the royal mandate; he had a citation drawn up by a notary in due form, and resolved to deliver it into the Pope's hands at a solemn cavalcade, which he had appointed upon

his going to reside, for the first time, in the new palace, lately built near the church of *Saint John de Lateran.*

Sixtus was informed by his spies of all the ambassador's movements, and prepared to frustrate them with characteristic spirit. On the eve of the festival he sent for the Governor of Rome and the two Masters of the Ceremonies, and spoke to them with the tone and manner of one who would not permit the slightest deviation from his mandate. "I have altered my mind," he said, "as to the order to be observed in the procession; it is my will and pleasure that you three should immediately precede my person; and that the common hangman shall go before you, with a halter in his hand, escorted by two hundred of the guards, marching four abreast. Should any person presume to offer to me any paper, writing, or citation, I command you then to order the hangman to fall upon him and strangle him that moment, without further ceremony, though he be ambassador, Cardinal, King, or Emperor. See, upon your peril, that this be done." The Governor was surprised at these orders, but he dared not ask for an explanation, much less venture upon a remonstrance, and he took care to marshal the cavalcade as he had been commanded.

Olivarez was just coming out of his palace to deliver the citation, when a friend, most pro-

bably a Papal emissary and spy, informed him of the arrangements which had been made for his reception. He was so alarmed, that his first resolution was to quit the city immediately and seek shelter in the kingdom of Naples; but, fearing that his flight might expose him to the imputation of cowardice, he resolved to stay in his palace. He deemed it prudent, however, to have all the doors and windows barricadoed, and his servants mounted on guard; he then threw the citation into the fire, and falling upon his knees, recommended his soul to God, expecting to be strangled so soon as the procession was over. Sixtus, however, took no further notice of the matter, and Philip was so confounded by the inflexible firmness of the pontiff, that he abandoned his design of a general council, which, at that moment, would probably have produced a schism fatal to the Latin Church. The appearance of the common hangman in a procession, where none but Cardinals, prelates, and persons of the first rank were usually permitted to have a place, excited much amazement, and even consternation in Rome, but when the cause was explained, the Pope's boldness and resolution met with general approbation. The incident afforded some amusement to the wits of the day; Pasquin soon after appeared, dressed as a courier, with a letter in his hand, addressed to "Signor Gigolo, Common Hangman of Rome, and Chief

of the Household Guards of his Holiness the Pope."

The Duke of Ferrara had a dispute with Sixtus respecting a village on the frontier, which the Papal soldiers had seized as part of the patrimony of St. Peter. The Ferrarese ambassador, who was directed to remonstrate on the subject, could not obtain an audience; at length he grew so impatient, that he went, one day, into the Pope's anti-chamber, and declared that "he would not stir from thence, until he had been admitted to a hearing." When Sixtus was informed of this declaration he was greatly enraged; he sent word to the ambassador that "if he did not quit the palace in half an hour, he should be flung out of the window, and that if he remained in Rome longer than two days, he should be tied on an ass, with his face to the tail, and scourged to the frontiers." The ambassador knew that the Pope was a man of his word, and made all the haste he could to escape from the city. The Duke of Ferrara could get no person to present a second remonstrance, so the Pope kept possession of the place, and united it to his dominions.

Poor Olivarez was, however, the person who suffered most severely from the Pope's ill-temper; Sixtus was persuaded that the Protestant kingdoms of Europe might be reconciled to the Latin Church, but for the bigotry and violence of the

Cardinals belonging to the Spanish faction, whom he believed to be secretly instigated by the ambassador. On the New Year's day of 1590, he sent off an express to the Court of Spain, and, at the same time, caused it to be intimated to Olivarez that he would no longer be recognized in his official capacity, and that, if he presented himself at the levee, he would only be received as a private person. On the following morning, Pasquin appeared booted and spurred, with a whip in his hand, labelled "A New Year's gift for the Count Olivarez, to be forwarded by express." And the day after, the same statue had a letter in its hand, directed "To the Count Olivarez, *late* Ambassador from the King of Spain to the Court of Rome." Philip was forced to submit to the affront; he recalled the Count, and gratified the Pope by appointing the Duke of Sissa in his stead.

The vigorous administration of Sixtus only suspended the fatal disorders which were sapping the Roman state; notwithstanding that his feelings and his judgment were enlisted on the side of Henry of Navarre, he was often forced to exhibit some hostility to the young King, and to favour the League, which he thoroughly detested, lest the bigots of Rome should raise a clamour against him for deserting what they were pleased to regard as the Catholic cause. The banditti also re-appeared towards the close

of his pontificate, and renewed their ravages, bribed, it is supposed, by the Spaniards, in order to prevent the Pope from accomplishing his designs on the kingdom of Naples. Suspicions were entertained, and, sometimes, expressed of the orthodoxy of the pontiff; a caricature was circulated, representing Pasquin dressed as a preacher, declaring that "he was going to preach before his Holiness for the purpose of converting the Pope to Popery." Complaints also were justly made of the nepotism of Sixtus. Notwithstanding the protestations he had made in his letter to Camilla, when he became Cardinal, which we have already quoted, he heaped a profusion of places, pensions, and benefices on his nephews and nieces in the later years of his pontificate. He had, at his court, emissaries from England, Hesse, and Saxony, and from the Huguenots of France, with whom he discussed a project for the civil and religious pacification of Europe; but, trammelled by his relations with the Courts of Spain and Austria, opposed by the great majority of his council, and alarmed at the increasing fanaticism of his Italian subjects, he did not venture to take any active measure to promote so desirable an object, and was often forced to pursue a course calculated to render the success of such a project hopelessly impossible.

His incessant mental fatigues united with lux-

urious indulgences, which he had studiously avoided in his early life, but which he enjoyed rather immoderately after his accession to the Papacy, undermined his constitution. In the summer of 1590, he began to suffer severely from disorders of the head and stomach, which were greatly increased by his neglect of the advice of the physicians, and his persevering devotion to business. He frequently repeated the saying of Vespasian, that "a prince should die standing," that is, actively engaged in the performance of his duties. As his health further declined, he began to suspect that he had been poisoned by the Spaniards, and such a report was very generally circulated after his death. On the 18th of August, 1590, he was seized with intermittent fever, which gradually increased until the 27th, when he expired in the arms of Cardinal Castagna.

A dreadful storm burst over the palace just as he breathed his last; the Spanish faction propagated a report that he had in his youth entered into a compact with the powers of evil, and that Satan had come in the tempest to claim the pontiff's soul according to the bond. The story was credited by the stupid populace, long prejudiced against Sixtus by the suspicions diffused respecting his orthodoxy, and the severity of the taxes he had imposed upon his subjects: they proceeded in tumultuous fury to tear down the statues

which had been erected to his honour; and this led to a decree of the Roman senate, which is still in force, that no statue should ever be erected to a living pontiff.

This re-action was a principal cause of the success of the Spanish faction in the struggle which ensued at the next election. Castagna was chosen; he took the title of Urban VII, but died on the twelfth day of his pontificate. The contest was immediately renewed, and was protracted to such a length that public affairs fell into the same disorder which had prevailed before the accession of Sixtus. On the 5th of December, Cardinal Sfondrato was elected, and took the title of Gregory XIV. He was a mere bigoted monk, the slave rather than the partisan of the Spaniards and the League, to support whom he lavishly expended a large portion of the treasures accumulated by the providence and economy of Sixtus. Fortunately for Europe, his reign was brief, as was that of his successor, Innocent IX; the Papacy then devolved upon Cardinal Aldobrandino, who crushed the League by annulling the bull of excommunication against Henry of Navarre, and receiving that monarch into the bosom of the church.

The projects which Sixtus formed were great and magnificent; he planned a league for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and to effect this design, he entered into negotiations

with Shah Abbas, King of Persia, with the fierce Druses in the mountains of Syria, and with several leading chiefs of the Arabs; but he failed in his efforts to obtain any combined effort of the princes of Europe, and had the mortification to find that his proposals were rejected by Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, whom he had vainly attempted to dazzle with a prospect of the throne of Constantinople. At another time, he resolved to invade Egypt, which he hoped to be able to conquer with the aid of Tuscany alone. When this was achieved, he designed to construct a canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, for the purpose of bringing oriental commerce back into its ancient channel; at the same time he thought that the Holy Land might be recovered, or, at least, that Jerusalem might be captured by a sudden march, and an opportunity afforded for bringing the stones of the Holy Sepulchre to Italy. He designed to have them placed in Montalto; and had he succeeded, the Marches of Ancona, already possessing the sacred shrine of Loretto, would have contained within their precincts the presumed places of the Redeemer's birth and burial.

It is probable that many will be disposed to condemn these projects for their extravagance; but, in truth, the schemes, which Sixtus actually executed were scarcely less wondrous; he had recruited an exhausted treasury, tranquillised a

distracted country, and raised Rome to the rank of the first metropolis in Europe, by means so apparently inadequate, that his own contemporaries exclaimed, "if we had not seen, we could not have believed." But there was one preliminary wanting to his plans of Mohammedan conquest, which he had not the power, and which he sometimes wanted the inclination, to accomplish; the federative union of the national churches of Christendom under the primacy of Rome. To effect this desirable object he should have abandoned his own claims of supremacy, and be contented to rank as first of bishops, instead of bishop of bishops; even had he been capable of making so great a sacrifice, it is very certain that he could not have brought the council of cardinals to adopt the same policy; they became more arrogant in their pretensions, and more exacting in their demands, as the spirit of revolt grew and strengthened around them. They met and resisted the concessions which the Pope would have made, with a passive obstinacy and dogged endurance, infinitely more annoying and dangerous to such a pontiff as Sixtus, than the most daring courage and the most active exertions. The strength of the Roman court, when it lost the support of that implicit faith which had been the first foundation of its greatness, consisted in the multitudinous forms behind which it was entrenched; it resembled an

edifice, of which we have somewhere read, the greater part of the basement was swept away by a torrent, but the fall of the building was prevented by an infinity of props, shores, and buttresses, none of which could be removed with safety. The reform of the Latin Church, which was eagerly desired by the cool and wise, both of Catholics and Protestants, was, perhaps, unattainable; it would, apparently, have been necessary to take down the entire edifice, and to erect a perfectly new building. The task of re-construction might have been, perhaps, too arduous to be undertaken in that age, and the renovated Church would certainly have wanted the hallowed associations derived from remote antiquity, which gave "a gilded halo hovering round decay" to the older structure,—which conferred upon it safety in the hour of its weakness, and majesty in the midst of its degradation.

We have seen that the efforts which Sixtus made to conciliate the Huguenots had very nearly caused a schism; had Philip persevered, Europe would in all probability have been again edified by the spectacle of Pope and Anti-pope cursing, excommunicating, and anathematizing each other, to the great grief of all good Catholics, and the great amusement of all zealous Protestants. The two great parties, which may not inaptly be described as conservatives and liberals, had been at this time fully developed within the

Latin Church, and while both preached moderation, there wanted but some burst of passion on one side or the other to set them cutting each others throats. Their animosities were most whimsically displayed at the elections on a vacancy in the Papacy. It was a pretty general rule that every new Pope adopted a line of policy directly opposite to that of his predecessor. Sixtus very unceremoniously stigmatised Gregory XIII. as a spendthrift and a blockhead; Gregory XIV, with just as little forbearance, denounced Sixtus as a tyrant and a heretic, and embraced the cause of the League with a furious zeal, which revived the memory of Peter the Hermit. Aldobrandino restored the reign of common sense, and thus prevented the Gallican Church from either becoming like the Anglican, a national establishment dependent on the state, or sinking beneath the yoke of ignorant fanaticism like that of Spain.

We have taken notice of some of the lampoons which, according to the Roman fashion, were fixed to the mutilated statues called Pasquin and Marfurio during the administration of Sixtus; his reign, indeed, might almost be regarded as the golden age of pasquinades, for every day was pregnant with a new jest. Though some of these were far from being complimentary to the Papal policy, Sixtus rarely paid them any attention. On one occasion, indeed, he exhibited great indig-

nation; soon after he had placed his sister Camilla in a palace, Pasquin appeared one morning in a dirty shirt. Marfurio asked him how it happened that he wore such marvellously foul linen? to which Pasquin answered, "My washerwoman could not bring home my shirts to-day, for the Pope has just made her a princess." A thousand crowns were offered as a reward for the author of this satire; he had the almost incredible folly, from mingled vanity and avarice, to betray himself. Sixtus paid him the reward, but, at the same time, ordered his hand to be cut off, and his tongue bored through, as a malicious libeller. After this severity, Pasquin continued silent for several months, — a circumstance which no one regretted more than the Pope himself, for he was well aware that the people often accept a joke upon their rulers as a compensation for much suffering and endurance. Viewing the character of the man and of the times, we are disposed to think that if the reconciliation of Protestant Europe to Rome had been possible, it would have been effected by Sixtus, and that after his failure, any such attempt must be regarded as impracticable and hopeless.

The constitutions of Sixtus V. for the regulation of the Roman court, and for the management of the diplomatic arrangement of the Vatican with foreign powers, have not received all the praise which they merit. He was a decided

advocate of the policy of concession, and though, probably, he would not have yielded so much as the opponents of the Church were disposed to demand, he was certainly prepared to grant enough to prevent others from joining their ranks through despair of improvement. Aldobrandino pursued the same enlightened course of policy, confessing that he followed in the steps of Sixtus; both succeeded in checking the progress of hostile innovation by the only means that ever has been found effective, when flagrant corruptions are detected and exposed in an established institution,—by yielding to friendly reforms, and by tacitly abandoning not so much the doctrine of infallibility as the theory of finality which, with little regard to logic, and less to common sense, was deduced from it;—to their prudent concessions must mainly be attributed the abatement of the hostility to Romanism on the part of enlightened Protestants, and the abandonment of its most glaring corruptions on the part of enlightened Catholics.

CHARLES DE VALOIS,

DUC D'ANGOULEME.

If it was in the power of the Benedictine brethren to bestow what John Galt used to call "an amber-immortalization" on the subjects of their biography, they would be a little perplexed to assign a reason for selecting such a candidate for everlasting fame as Charles de Valois. It is true, as Pope says, that it is sometimes pleasing to see insects and straws encased in amber,—

> "The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there."

The Duke, however, has some claims upon our attention; his career is one of the most strikingly illustrative of the character of the times which we know, and he left behind him an account of some of the principal events in which he was engaged, written with a grace, fidelity, and spirit not to be surpassed in the entire collection of French memoirs. His reminiscences were reduced to writing when he lived in exile and disgrace; they are incomplete, either from his wea-

rying of the task, or from the loss of some portion of the manuscript; but we trust to be able in some degree to supply the loss from other sources, for he lived in that part of the Elizabethan age where the materials of history are superabundant.

Charles of Valois was the natural son of Charles IX; enough is known about his father, and so we shall direct our attention to a far more interesting person,—his mother. The beautiful Mary Touchet was the daughter of a poor lieutenant in the bailiwick of Orleans; her mother, the natural daughter of an Italian physician, was equally remarkable for the beauty of her person and the extent of her gallantries, and Mary soon rivalled her in both. An epigram, written on her at an early age, declares:—

> "She 's Venus in her lovely face,
> She 's Venus in her slender waist,
> She 's Venus in her ease and grace,
> And, faith, she 's Venus in her taste."

These qualities seem to have been hereditary in the family, for we may remark, *en passant*, that her daughter, the Marchioness de Verneuil, who held for a time the transitory office of mistress in ordinary to Henry IV, delighted his licentious court by her beauty, but, at the same time, scandalized even that by the boldness and publicity of her intrigues. Mary Touchet's first lover was Monluc, brother of the Bishop of Va-

lence, who is said to have purchased her from her parents at a very heavy price. With him she lived publicly in Orleans, where she was seen by Charles IX. during one of his visits to that city. He was deeply smitten by her charms, and sent an officer to propose that she should quit Monluc and accept royal protection. Mary was nothing loth; Monluc was gratified by promotion, either in the church or army, authorities differ as to which, but they agree that the price which he had paid to the lieutenant was amply recompensed.

The influence which his new mistress obtained over the King gave great offence to his mother; and as Charles knew that Catherine de Medicis was not over scrupulous in the employment of means to remove those whom she thought likely to interfere with her exercise of power; he deemed it necessary to send Mary Touchet to the distant castle of Fayet, in Dauphiné, where her son, Charles, was born, April 28, 1573. She then returned to court, and became the heroine of more adventures of gallantry than we care to record; in the midst of which she was suddenly left almost destitute by the death of her royal protector. In a few months afterwards, she married Balsac d'Entragues, and is said to have reformed her life; but this is very doubtful, since she trained her daughter to be one of the most notorious courtezans in Europe.

On his death-bed, Charles IX. bequeathed the care of his infant son to his worthy brother Henry III. The new King became very much attached to the child, and had him educated in the Court. It was a school in which he had very little chance of learning virtue, honour, or courage; but his advance in military piety must have appeared satisfactory, since, at the early age of fourteen he was admitted a Knight of Malta, and elected Grand Prior of France, in the room of Henry, Duke of Angoulême, (natural son of Henry II.,) who had been assassinated by a jealous Florentine, at Aix. In the year 1589, he was further gratified with the counties of Clermont and Auvergne, from the latter of which he took his title, at the time of the accession of Henry IV. We shall hereafter see that he quitted the order of knighthood, and resigned his priory to obtain the hand of Charlotte de Montmorenci.

The young Count of Auvergne was early initiated in revolutions; he accompanied his royal patron when he was forced by the partisans of the Duke of Guise to fly from Paris to Chartres, and he is said to have shared in the councils in which Henry III. plotted the assassination of the Duke of Guise. When the States had assembled, and the preparations for the murder of the duke was complete, Auvergne, on the eve of the day fixed for the assassination, met the

Prince de Joinville, (son to the Duke of Guise,) with whom he entered into a merry conversation respecting the ladies of Paris, and the various amusements in the capital. When they were separating, Joinville, according to Auvergne's account, turned to him, and said, "Charley, my boy, I doubt if you will be in such a good humour to-morrow." If by this anecdote, Auvergne means to insinuate that the Guises on their part, had formed any plan for the destruction of Henry, he is guilty of gross injustice; if they had framed any such plot, they might long previously have put it into execution. Auvergne and Joinville had agreed to meet early in the morning, to have a game of rackets; the latter came to the place of rendezvous, where he was arrested by the guards, who were placed in waiting, and hurried to Auvergne's apartments, from whence he was, subsequently, removed to prison.

The murder of the Duke of Guise, removed only one head from the hydra of the league; a hundred sprung up in its place. Paris gave the example of an insurrection, which became general throughout the kingdom, and Henry III. could only save his life and crown, by immediately concluding a treaty with his brother-in-law, and ancient enemy, the King of Navarre. The union of the French Monarch with the recognized leader of the Huguenots, roused the fanatical

fury of the Leaguers to madness; both Henrys were denounced from the pulpit, and their assassination openly recommended as a deed acceptable in the sight both of God and man. But the rage of the bigots was fiercest against Henry III. who had taken so very active a share in kindling this flame of fanaticism, of which he was himself the victim. They looked upon him as an apostate; and, not without reason, asked how Protestants could support the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew? Henry vowed vengeance on his rebellious capital. Aided by the King of Navarre, he advanced to the siege of Paris, when the dagger of a Jacobin monk, Jacques Clement, put an end to the life of the tyrant, and the danger of the citizens.

Clement was an ignorant and bigoted enthusiast, the instrument of more designing bigots. Supplied with a passport and a letter, forged in the name of the president Hurlay, he proceeded from Paris towards the royal camp, on the last day of July, 1589. As he approached Saint Cloud, he was met by M. La Guesle, the King's attorney-general, and his brother, who, though lawyers, had been forced to take up arms in these troublesome times. Seeing the monk in conversation with some soldiers, La Guesle went up to him, and asked him "if he were a prisoner?" Clement answered, "No, but, that he had been sent from Paris on an important mission, to con-

vey some tidings to the King, which would tend greatly to his advantage." La Guesle, fearing that the monk might reveal his secret to the soldiers, invited him to come to his quarters, promising to introduce him to the royal presence; at the same time he requested his brother to take up the monk behind him on his steed. It was late when they reached La Guesle's quarters, but, notwithstanding, he went to the King, and mentioned all the circumstances of his meeting with the monk. Henry appointed the following morning for an interview, in spite of the remonstrances of his attendants, who reminded him of the many warnings he had received of plans having been formed for his assassination. To their urgent representations, he replied, "If I refuse to listen to an ecclesiastic, I should give an opportunity to my enemies to add to the numerous calumnies they have vented against my religion."

Clement spent the evening with La Guesle's servants, and, according to their report, was remarkably merry and jocular during supper. He slept so soundly, that they had some difficulty in awakening him the next morning, to accompany their master to the King's presence. Henry was not awake when they reached the palace: La Guesle led the monk into the garden, where they met Portail, the King's surgeon, who was returning from a visit to his patient, the Marshal d'Aumont. Clement entered into conver-

sation with the surgeon, giving him some information respecting his wife, who had been sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred crowns, and adding a pretended message from his son, who was then a prisoner in the Bastille. This coolness so completely put an end to suspicion, that he was not searched, but was conducted with La Guesle into the King's chamber. Henry had only just risen, and was sitting in his shirt, on a chair by the side of the bed. Clement declared that his message was strictly private; and Henry, after some hesitation, desired his attendant to stand aside and allow the monk to approach. The assassin advanced with the stealthy pace of a tiger, and, as the King bent down his ear, plunged his knife into his stomach. "The wretch has wounded me!" shrieked Henry; "villain! what have you done?" At the same time drawing the knife from the wound, he struck Clement twice on the face, and the attendants rushing in, soon despatched him with their swords. The body was then flung out of the window into the courtyard; no one remembering, until too late, how important it would have been to have kept the wretch alive until he had revealed the names of his instigators and accomplices.

The Count of Auvergne had remained to a late hour with the King on the preceding evening, and had afterwards spent a merry night with some young lords of the Court. He was roused

from his sleep by the alarming intelligence that the King was wounded, and he ran half-dressed to the palace. "On entering," he says, "I beheld in the court-yard, the horrible spectacle of the corpse of this demoniacal assassin, which had been flung out of the window; the King's body-guards lined the staircase, all melted into tears. What my feelings must have been I leave those to guess who are acquainted with the great loss I had sustained, and the natural tenderness of my disposition. In bitter anguish, I went into the King's chamber, where I found him extended on the bed, with his wound undressed, and his shirt all covered with blood: the wound appeared to have been inflicted on the right side a little below the navel. When he saw me, he did me the honour to take me by the hand, saying, 'My child, (a name which he used often to give me in our private conversation,) do not be grieved; these scoundrels have attempted to kill me, but God has saved me from their malice; this wound is a mere trifle!' I replied only by tears and sobs, upon which some of the attendants forced me away, that I should not increase his agitation." Portail, the surgeon, now arrived, and announced that the wound was of such a nature as to admit of little hope. Henry suspected that his state was worse than he had at first supposed, from the anxious and alarmed looks of the physicians: he sent at once for the King

of Navarre, and when he came to the bedside, said, "Dear brother, you see how I have been treated by your enemies and mine; take care that they do not at some time or other treat you in a similar manner." This simple incident has been converted into a miracle by some credulous historians, who insist that the dying King predicted to Navarre the circumstances of his fall by similar fanaticism, and that he even described the features of the future assassin, Ravaillac. Henry met death with a firmness which surprised all his attendants; when he felt that his last hour approached, he summoned the principal nobles to his room, and in their presence declared the King of Navarre the legitimate heir to the crown of France. He gave the most minute directions to the guards, in order to prevent any communication between the disaffected in his army and the leaders of the insurrection in Paris, after which he recommended some of his servants to the special protection of the King of Navarre. In a few hours after, he expired in the arms of Auvergne, and Henry of Navarre was proclaimed in the army by the style and title of Henry IV. of France.

In the meantime, intelligence of the King's death had reached Paris, and was received with signs of the most indecent and extravagant joy by the citizens generally, but more especially by the members and partisans of the family of Lor-

raine. The Duchess de Montpensier laid aside the mourning which she had worn ever since the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and, driving through the streets, distributed green hoods to all around; a colour which was then called "the livery of folly," and assumed as the sign of the most extravagant exultation. They had some reason for their joy; many of the old nobility withdrew their forces from the new King, under various pretexts, and so weakened his forces, that he was compelled to raise the siege of Paris.

Henry, to the surprise and disappointment of his enemies, directed his course to Normandy, where, by the capture of Dieppe and some other ports, he was enabled to open a communication with England, then his own ally, and to receive a reinforcement of English infantry, which, though of small amount, was essentially serviceable at a moment when his enemies were straining every nerve for his destruction. The Duke de Mayenne, supported by a very numerous army, marched into Normandy, not unreasonably hoping that he would be able, by his great superiority of force, to crush the king, whose strength had been greatly diminished by the desertion of so many Catholic lords. Henry entrenched himself at Arques, and sent out detachments to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, one of which was entrusted to the command of the Count d'Auvergne. Mayenne's forces appear to have

kept very bad watch, for a whole company of troopers was surprised in bed by the Count's party, and captured without any opportunity of resistance.

As Auvergne was returning to the camp, with his party and his prisoners, he was met by Henry, who had come out to reconnoitre himself, with only two attendants. After having highly complimented Auvergne on his skill and bravery, Henry rode up to one of the prisoners, and asked him, "What was the latest news in Paris?" The captive, ignorant of the person of the interrogator, replied, "It is commonly reported and believed, that we shall soon see the wicked bear of Berné, (a nickname given to the King from the ancient principality and cognizance of his family,) brought to us in chains." Henry, with a smile, asked the man if "he had ever seen the bear of Berne?" to which the other replied in the negative.—"I am he," said Henry, "and you have not caught me yet; do not sell the skin until the bear is taken!" The affrighted Parisian fell upon his knees, and supplicated for mercy in such agonising tones, that Henry ordered him to be liberated without ransom.

The Leaguers attacked the royalists in their lines; but were repulsed with some loss; through the incapacity of their leader, they fell into confusion, and their retreat was changed into a total rout. An incident, which diversified the ordi-

nary scenes of war and bloodshed, is related by the Count d'Auvergne. While the two armies were ranged in presence of each other, a cavalier rode out from the ranks of the Leaguers, and demanded if there were any gallant in the royalist ranks who would exchange a pistol-shot with him for the love of the ladies. Bellegarde, one of the King's favourite esquires, dashed forward to accept the challenge; the cavaliers took their station like champions in the lists of chivalry, save that they had pistols instead of lances; and, at a given signal, spurred furiously on each other. The Leaguer fired first and missed his aim; Bellegarde had more success, and broke his adversary's arm; he then attempted to make him prisoner; but the Leaguer was mounted on the better horse, and escaped to his own line.

Immediately after the battle of Arques, Henry received a large reinforcement from Elizabeth, which was accompanied by several volunteers from England and Scotland. The costume of the Scotch, which consisted of old coats of mail and iron helmets, the armour of a past age, excited much surprise in the royal camp; but the bagpipes completed the astonishment of the French. Auvergne was utterly unable to comprehend or describe such an instrument of music. The Scotch displayed the usual bravery of their nation; on the day following that of their arrival, they attacked a village garrisoned by double their

number, and by the desperate fury of their charge so dismayed the enemy, that they fled without resistance. So disheartened was the Duke de Mayenne by these repeated defeats, that he broke up his camp and returned to Paris. His inglorious retreat greatly alarmed and displeased the citizens, who were so assured of victory that they had actually made arrangements for giving their leaders a triumphal entry when they brought in "the bear of Berne" a prisoner. The inhabitants of the *Rue St. Antoine* had received large sums of money for the hire of their windows to see the expected show, and much annoyance to some and amusement to others arose from the lawsuits instituted to compel them to return the money. Mayenne's friends had boasted so much that the failure would probably have been fatal to the League, if Henry's resources allowed him to make an immediate march on Paris.

A second reinforcement of four thousand men arrived from England under the command of Roger Williams, whose name Auvergne travesties into Holben. Henry was so delighted by this timely aid, that he resolved to visit the officers on board previously to their disembarkation. A shallop was prepared, in spite of the remonstrances of Auvergne and the rest of the King's attendants, who were greatly alarmed by the heavy swell of the sea and the rapid run of the tide. Though the distance from the shore to the place where

the ships lay at anchor did not exceed two miles, old Father Neptune exacted his customary tribute from fresh-water sailors; they were all miserably sick, and thoroughly soaked with salt-water through the unskilfulness of the boatmen. The sight which met their view in the Admiral's cabin consoled them for their sufferings; a splendid entertainment was prepared for them, to which they appear to have sat down in their dripping dresses. At every toast that was proposed the vessels of the squadron fired salutes, the guns being loaded with ball, according to the perilous practice of the age. Henry was so delighted with his reception, that he gave a sum of five hundred crowns to be distributed among the ship's crew; although, in the wretched state of his finances, he could badly spare the money.

Auvergne was attacked by fever just when Henry made his first march on Paris; the physicians declared that his disease was produced by the cares and anxieties of his station; instead of prescribing any medicine, they told his attendants to exercise their ingenuity in devising some scheme which would make him laugh. In consequence of this very agreeable prescription, Auvergne's secretary, a grave old man, who had passed his sixtieth year, and the steward of his household, who was about the same age, provided themselves with red bonnets surmounted by plumes of cocks' feathers, such as were worn by the wild

gallants of the day; and in this guise, accompanied by the captain of the guard, in a costume not less whimsical than their own, they came to the side of the bed on which Auvergne lay in a species of lethargy. Their ridiculous appearance, and the ludicrous efforts of the old men to play the pranks of naughty school-boys, threw the Count into such a fit of laughter, that he was seized with a fit of bleeding from the nose, which lasted more than two hours. This depletion was followed by a crisis in the disease, which proved so favourable, that, in a few days, he was able to resume his duties. This is probably the only case in the annals of medicine of a fever being cured by the judicious application of red bonnets and cocks' feathers.

During the remainder of the war, Auvergne performed his duty as a brave soldier, particularly at the battle of Arques, where he slew Sagonne, one of the best officers in the League, in single combat. But his excessive debaucheries and vices counterbalanced his military services; at the fair of St. Germain he was one of the most insolent of the roysterers whose exploits have been recorded by L'Etoile; he records himself that he was forced to recruit his finances by having recourse to the gaming-table; and Vassor, by no means an unfavourable historian, asserts that he was guilty of coining bad money. The dangers which Henry had to encounter in the civil war

from his avowed enemies, were less trying than the disturbances created by the pretensions of the different factions which divided his little court. His Protestant and Catholic supporters could never be brought heartily to coalesce; every place which became vacant was demanded by a host of claimants; he who succeeded became ungrateful, and all those who failed were dissatisfied. A party was formed in the royal army, the chiefs of which hoped to establish themselves as umpires in the great contest, and to make what stipulations they pleased when they had sufficient power to determine the final issue, by joining one side or the other. Auvergne, who believed that the King undervalued his abilities and services, became an active leader in this party, which afforded him an opportunity for exercising the powers of intrigue he had inherited from his Italian mother. The conspirators, at one time, went so far as to offer the crown of France to the young cardinal of Bourbon, nephew to the stupid old cardinal of that name, whom the Leaguers had proclaimed king, with the title of Charles X. The Cardinal wanted courage to make a bold effort; it was in vain that his clerical councillors advised "Take the crown boldly, and then we shall see about making good your title;" he temporized and delayed, until Henry's reconciliation to the Church and court of Rome, completely disconcerted the manœuvres of the conspirators.

Henry's conversion and absolution gave just offence to his Protestant supporters, who exclaimed against him as a deserter of their cause. Some abandoned his standard, others greatly abated their zeal and exertions for his service; but the wiser part believed that he had only made a prudent concession to the temper of the times. Though nominally a royalist, Auvergne was one of those who threw doubts on the King's sincerity, and repeated the assertion of the violent Leaguers, that no credit was to be given to the King's conversion, even though it should be published by an angel from heaven.

Proud of his victories, and encouraged by the submission of Paris and the principal cities of his kingdom, Henry declared war against Spain. This circumstance revived the hopes of the "Third party:" many Protestant leaders, in conjunction with several Catholic nobles, amongst whom was the Count d'Auvergne, resolved to stand aloof until the King received some check, which would compel him to submit to their terms. Amiens was captured by the Spaniards, which opened to them the road to the capital, and Henry seemed on the brink of ruin. But even at this crisis he refused to submit to the demands of his insolent aristocracy; he threw himself confidently upon the zeal and loyalty of his people; they nobly responded to his appeal, and, in a short time the re-taking of Amiens de-

livered the kingdom from danger. The peace of Vervins completed Henry's security, and left him at liberty to develope his schemes for restoring the prosperity of France.

Henry's mistresses were the disgrace of his court, and the plague of his existence; the Count d'Auvergne's sister was the most dangerous of them all; but before relating the account of her elevation, it will be necessary to give some account of her predecessor, the fair Gabrielle. She was the daughter of Anthony d'Estrees, *Seigneur de Coeuvres les Soissons,* and master-general of the Artillery; he was a man of honour, cursed with a most profligate wife, who dishonoured her bed and dilapidated his fortunes. She interfered in a popular tumult to save the life of one of her gallants, and was killed in the confusion. D' Estrees was so imprudent as to entrust the education of his daughter to Isabella, Marchioness of Sardiss, the sister of his deceased wife, and more than her rival in open profligacy. Under her tuition Gabrielle d' Estrees was taught to turn her charms to account, and she soon won the heart of the Duke of Bellegarde, who, in the language of chivalry, proclaimed himself her soldier and champion. It was in her name that he fired the pistol in the singular duel we have already described. Bellegarde vaunted the charms of his mistress so loudly, that Henry was induced to steal from his camp for the purpose of paying her

a visit. He was immediately smitten, and made her such offers, that she dismissed Bellegarde without ceremony. Her father opposed this intrigue with all his power; but the young lady's inclinations, fostered and supported by the counsels of her aunt, the Marchioness of Sardiss, were not to be controlled; she consented to become the King's mistress, but, in order to cloak the intrigue, she went through the forms of marriage with Nicholas d'Amerval, *Seigneur de Liancourt*, but never lived with her husband. On the birth of her first son, Cæsar, afterwards Duke of Vendôme, Henry was so delighted, that he commanded her to drop her husband's name, and come openly to his court. He created her Marchioness of Monceaux, and, afterwards, Duchess of Beaufort; but not content with these honours, he meditated to make her Queen of France, and to legitimate her son, after obtaining his divorce from Queen Margaret. The King's councillors opposed this insane passion, and the Pope steadily refused to grant the divorce, though warned that his obstinacy might lead to the results which had followed from similar pertinacity in the parallel case of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. Gabrielle's increasing family added a fresh stimulus to her exertions to become a queen; she gave birth to Catherine Henrietta, afterwards Duchess d' Elbœuf, and to Alexander de Vendôme, subsequently, Grand-prior of France. Finding herself

likely to become a mother for the fourth time, she renewed her efforts so urgently, that it was generally believed she would succeed. In order to gain the affections of the bigoted Parisians, she pretended to become an exemplary devotee; and after having passed the greater part of Lent with the King at Fontainebleau, she returned to Paris, in order to give no occasion for scandal in Passion-week. She took up her abode in the house of Sebastian Zamet, a native of Lucca, who was employed in the finances, and every evening went to some fashionable church, to offer up her devotions. While attending vespers in the church of St. Anthony, on the evening of April 8th, 1599, she was seized with violent convulsions, which were suspected to be the result of poison; she was carried to Zamet's house, where she was delivered of a still-born child, and, soon after, expired in dreadful tortures. Her face, after her death, was distorted in so strange a manner, and her whole body presented so hideous a spectacle, that the populace—and some who ought to have been wiser—believed that she had been strangled by the Devil. Clement VIII. ascribed her death to the efficacy of his prayers, which he had offered to Heaven, to avert the misery which Henry's marriage with such a woman would have brought on France.

Zamet, at whose house it was believed that the beautiful Duchess had taken the poison, was as

remarkable an instance of the caprice of fortune as any in these strange times; he was born at Lucca, of an obscure family, and was one of the crowd of Italians who followed in the train of Catherine de Medicis to seek a fortune in France. He established himself as a shoemaker in Paris, and was soon appointed one of the royal tradesmen. Henry III. took some fancy to him, and appointed him one of the company for the management of the *Gabelle*, or salt-monopoly. Zamet made such good use of his opportunities, that he saved sufficient money to buy the entire farming of the *Gabelle*, and thus, in a short time, gained an enormous fortune. He figured in the party of the League, and by his readiness to advance money, obtained the friendship of the Duke of Mayenne, who employed the wily Italian as his agent when he deemed it prudent to open secret negotiations for returning to his allegiance. Henry IV. was so pleased with Zamet's conduct on the occasion that he called him "his gossip Bastian;" and when the tranquillity of the kingdom was restored, frequently paid a visit to the splendid house which the wealthy financier had erected near the arsenal. It is a feature of the times, that when this man married his daughter to a gentleman of rank, and the notary came to draw the contract, he asked him how he was to describe him; "Lord of?"—"As for that matter," answered Zamet, "write me down Lord of Se-

venteen-hundred-thousand-crowns." The notary obeyed, and the financier was known by this surname ever after.

Henry's sorrow for the loss of the beautiful Gabrielle is said to have been diverted by an extraordinary circumstance which occurred at Fontainebleau, and of which it is not easy to give a satisfactory explanation. For many years the charcoal-burners, wood-cutters, and peasants round the forest of Fontainebleau told anecdotes of a strange spectre, in the form of a huntsman, clothed in black, attended by a pack of hounds, who was accustomed to chase the deer in the forest, and never injured any but those who crossed his track;—like their brethren in Germany, they named him "the wild huntsman." The tale was received with incredulous scorn, until one day as Henry was endeavouring to drown his grief for Gabrielle in the excitement of the chase, he and his attendants were surprised to hear the notes of hunting-horns, the cracking of whips, and the baying of dogs, sometimes approaching near them, and sometimes receding to a distance. Some of the King's equerries rode forward, to discover whence the sound proceeded; they had not advanced twenty paces, when they beheld the terrific spectre of the "wild huntsman," a gigantic black figure, who shouted to them, in a voice of thunder, "Away with you; amend your lives." They did not wait for a se-

cond bidding, but hurried off at the highest speed of their horses; indeed, they were so terrified, that no two of them gave the same account of the wild huntsman's appearance and words.*

We have accidentally met with a passage in Saint Foix's "Essays on Paris," which may throw some light on the history of "the wild huntsman;" he tells us that in some alms-houses, built by Jean Rousel, there lived about this time two mendicants, who could imitate so well the music of the hunting-horns and the cry of the hounds, that, at a little distance, it would be impossible not to believe that a chase was passing by. They were men of infamous character, and suspected of

* Palmacayet, who tells this anecdote with edifying credulity, relates another of "a spectral flogger," which is still more curious. He says that Charles IX. took so much pleasure in the chase, in the forest of Lionne, that he erected a hunting-lodge there, and made it his residence in the sporting season. Complaints soon came from the matrons and maidens of the surrounding villages that when they passed through the forest they were seized by unseen hands, and subjected to the punishment which, from immemorial ages, has been assigned to naughty children, while shouts of spectral laughter drowned their cries for assistance. Charles and his courtiers resolved to inquire into this strange story; the women were summoned, and when they found that their tale was not believed, in all the innocence of rural simplicity offered ocular demonstration of the severity of their treatment; the King and the nobles burst into fits of incontrollable mirth at so *naïve* a proposal, and the poor peasants retired covered with confusion.

having engaged in more than one assassination. It is not improbable that these men were hired by Henry's enemies to murder him, and that if the King had gone forward instead of his equerries, he would have fallen by a pistol-shot or a hunting-spear;—it would, of course, have been said that the Devil had come to claim the soul of a concealed heretic.

Soon after this adventure, Henry met with Henrietta de Balzac, who to the beauty of Gabrielle superadded a liveliness of wit and a gaiety of deportment, which might have captivated a less susceptible monarch. Her mother, the once celebrated Mary Touchet, was still alive, and gave her the benefit of her experience in the management of her royal lover. She refused to listen to the King's addresses on any other terms than those of immediate marriage, and Henry could not prevail, until he had bound himself by a solemn promise to make her his Queen if she bore him a son within the year. He bestowed a hundred thousand crowns on her parents, and conferred upon her the title of Marchioness of Verneuil, with a considerable estate to support her new dignity. Alarm filled the royal council; the danger of Henry's degrading himself by a marriage with his mistress was now greater than ever; for the Pope on hearing of Gabrielle's death, made no further difficulties about the divorce, little suspecting that in so short a space of

time her place would be supplied by a more artful and winning successor. Sillery and Cardinal D'Ossat, eager to prevent such a calamity, hurried forward the negotiations which they had commenced for a marriage between the King and Mary de Medicis, niece to the Grand-duke of Tuscany, so rapidly, that Henry was too deeply committed to retract, and the ambitious Henrietta was forced to console herself with the promise that she should retain his heart, though another shared his throne.

Mary de Medicis was very reluctant to bestow her hand upon a person whose heart she knew to be engaged to a mistress; but her uncle's sternness of resolution compelled her to submit. The ceremonies of the marriage were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence in Florence, Henry appearing by proxy. The Queen was received in France with the greatest enthusiasm, and among the nobles who united to form her escort of honour, one of the foremost and most obsequious was the Count of Auvergne, whose sister she had supplanted.

Auvergne felt the disappointment of the hopes he had founded on his sister's elevation most bitterly. He began to enter into plots with the nobles, who were discontented by the King's persevering efforts to introduce reforms into the several departments of the state, and to put an end to the gross peculations in which men of the

highest rank at that period ventured to indulge. Amongst the discontented might be reckoned the Constable Montmorenci, the Duke de Bouillon, who was very formidable from his reputation for sanctity among the fanatical portion of the Huguenots, the Dukes of Montpensier and Tremouille, and the violent Duke d'Espernon. But none of them equalled the Duke de Biron in violence; his intolerable pride led him to disdain the thoughts of remaining a subject; it is, indeed, not wonderful that he should have lost part of the reverence due to his King, when he openly declared that his own military exploits were far superior to those of Cæsar and Alexander. Auvergne strenuously laboured to combine these several elements of discontent into a regular plan for dethroning Henry, and transferring the crown to another prince of the blood. The Duke of Savoy zealously seconded his efforts, and promised that when the time for action arrived, he would aid the conspirators both with men and money.

Henry obtained some information respecting these intrigues, and anxious to save the Duke de Biron, to whom he felt sincerely grateful for his past services in the period of his dangers and difficulties, he sent him, as his ambassador, into England to return thanks to Elizabeth for the constant support she had given to his cause. Auvergne accompanied the duke; he was now

much embarrassed by the disputes which were almost of daily occurrence between the Marchioness de Verneuil and the Queen; the violence of the former made him fear a premature explosion of the plot, and he was besides in dread that Biron, removed from the sphere of his influence, might give ear to new and wiser counsels.

Elizabeth received the Duke de Biron with greater honours than had ever been granted before to an ambassador; she took him by the arm at his first audience, led him to a window, and entered into a long conversation with him on the general politics of Europe. Auvergne had intended to maintain a strict *incognito*, but the Queen, having heard of his arrival, became anxious to see a person who was said to have gained more conquests in gallantry than any other nobleman in France: he was introduced to her, and invited to visit her again. On the following day he was admitted to the Queen's dressing-room, where the old coquette tried to excite his admiration by a display of her faded charms, and by an affectation of girlish playfulness, which at her age must have been perfectly disgusting. Auvergne was too good a courtier to display his real sentiments; he affected a most extravagant admiration of the royal beauties, and bestowed upon her such a dose of fulsome flattery that her boundless vanity was satisfied. Elizabeth acted more worthily and nobly to

Biron; she had discovered the secret of his ambition, and she resolved to warn him of his danger; taking him into her closet, she commenced a conversation on the fate of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, who had been executed in the preceding February, declaring that his unhappy end ought to be a warning to those who have received friendship from princes not to presume too much upon their own merits, nor to be led into acts of ingratitude whenever the circumstances of the state rendered the suspension of royal favour expedient. Her remonstrances produced very little influence on the mercurial disposition of Biron, and whatever were its effects, they were speedily removed by the artifices of Auvergne, who drew a very contrary moral from the sad fate of Essex, and insisted that he failed by his excess of caution in not openly avowing a determination to dethrone the sovereign.

Having received intelligence that their Queen's *accouchement* was near at hand, Biron and Auvergne returned home to attend the ceremonials used on these occasions, and witnessed the birth of a dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII. Five days previously the King of Spain had a daughter, who was, subsequently, the wife of this prince, and the astrologers asserted that this future union was portended by the identity of their horoscopes. The birth of this prince did not increase the king's domestic happiness; on the contrary, it led to

fresh scenes of indecent violence between his mistress and his wife, until Henry began to contemplate the possibility of getting rid of both. He had actually taken some steps to procure a divorce from the Queen, when his council interfered and persuaded him to abandon so disgraceful a design. After his return from England, Biron was sent on a very important mission to Switzerland, whither he was accompanied by his evil genius, Auvergne. Arrangements for an insurrection were here completed with the Duke of Savoy; but, at the same time, with strange inconsistency, Biron executed his mission as ambassador with the strictest fidelity, and concluded a treaty most advantageous to France. Soon after their return, the whole secret of the plot was revealed to the King and council; it appeared that Biron, seduced by the hope of a royal title, had resolved to raise an insurrection, in concert with the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain; that the kingdom was to be dismembered to reward the services of these potentates; and that the crown of France was to be bestowed on some prince selected by the confederates, they promising to choose some one conspicuous for zeal in the promotion of the Catholic religion. Henry was forced to temporize; he pretended not to be aware of his danger, until Biron and some of his leading associates, including Auvergne, had been induced to come

to Fontainebleau. There they were arrested and sent to the Bastille, with the certainty that several of their accomplices had put the government in possession of evidence amply sufficient to ensure their conviction. Biron's trial and conviction soon followed; his guilt was established beyond a shadow of doubt, and his only excuse was, that there were many others equally criminal with himself. With great reluctance, Henry consented that his old companion in arms should be delivered to the executioner; but alarmed by the numbers of the guilty, he gave orders that no further inquiries should be made into the extent of the plot. Auvergne, from the moment of his arrest, assumed an insolent, dashing air, the result, not of innocence, but of his confidence in the influence of his sister. His expectations were not disappointed; the Marchioness de Verneuil appeared before the King dissolved in tears for the sufferings of a brother, whose errors, she declared, arose from the excess of his fraternal affection for her; Henry was moved by her grief, and forthwith signed an order for the Count's liberation.

The Marchioness incessantly reproached the King for his breach of faith, after having given her a solemn promise of marriage; she ridiculed the Queen, as the daughter of a broken merchant in Florence; she mimicked her awkward gait, her imperfect French, and her starched de-

portment. Mary de Medicis, on the other hand, declared that no person who frequented the *salons* of Verneuil should be admitted to her Court: the Marchioness appealed to Henry, but, for very shame, he was forced to refuse placing any constraint upon the Queen. The Marchioness tried the experiment of hypocrisy, the ordinary resort of all the profligates of the time: she declared that her conscience would not permit her any longer to lead a life of adultery, and demanded permission to retire with her children into a foreign land. Henry, equally to her astonishment and indignation, consented to her departure, but would not allow her to take the children; at the same time he proffered her a large sum to resign his written promise of marriage, on the strength of which she threatened to institute a suit in the ecclesiastical courts, and establish the nullity of his marriage with the queen. Twenty thousand pounds to herself, and the office of Marshal of France for her father, constituted the price paid for this precious document: it was restored to the king in due form; but so far were the claims founded upon it from being abandoned, that a conspiracy was formed to bring them forward with greater determination than ever. Auvergne and the father of the Marchioness entered into negotiations with the King of Spain to have the young dauphin proclaimed a bastard, and his rights transferred to the son

of La Verneuil. Henry discovered the plot, and anxious to avoid severities, especially as he was conscious that he was not altogether blameless, recommended Auvergne to undertake a tour for three years in the Levant. The Count did not take the hint, and the King was, at length, compelled to give orders for his arrest. The Marchioness had, at this time, quarrelled with him again, having discovered some of his numerous infidelities to the Queen and to her; in fact, Henry had now a cross wife, and some half-dozen of troublesome mistresses on his hands, in addition to the Marchioness; and it is not surprising, that, under such circumstances, he allowed the one which gave him most annoyance to be removed for a time from his presence. Auvergne's arrest was effected with some difficulty, for, on the first appearance of danger, he retired to his county and prepared to defend himself by force. The Baron d'Eurie, however, found means to surprise him when he was off his guard, and to send him, under a strong escort, to Paris. On the road the Count showed the greatest confidence, laughing and jesting with the soldiers; but his courage failed him when he entered the Bastille, and found that he was to occupy the same apartment which had been formerly assigned to his unfortunate associate, the Duke of Biron.

Balsac d'Entragues, the father of the Mar-

chioness, was arrested in his house at Malesherbes, and sent to the Conciergerie; but his wife, the once celebrated Mary Touchet, though placed under the *surveillance* of the police, was not exposed to the indignities of a prison. The Marchioness was less fortunate; she was placed in close confinement, and her children were taken away from her by the express command of the king. His Majesty's councillors were delighted at this exhibition of spirit; they believed that the spell of the enchantress was broken, and, to prevent its being renewed, they gave directions that the delinquents should be immediately brought to trial before the parliament of Paris.

Auvergne's conduct, during the process, displayed a mixture of meanness and cowardice which disgraced him more than his guilty intrigues; to save himself, he threw all the blame upon his sister, and voluntarily furnished the court with evidence sufficient to ensure her conviction. The Marchioness was perfectly furious at this unexpected treachery; she informed the court, and she wrote to the King that she only wished for three things, "a rope for her brother, pardon for her father, and justice for herself." In the midst of the trial, Mary Touchet came to Paris to solicit mercy for her husband, Entragues, at the same time, ostentatiously proclaiming her indifference to the fate of her son and daughter. Henry granted her a pri-

vate audience, and promised to be as lenient as circumstances would admit. At the close of the trial, the parliament sentenced Auvergne and Entragues to death as manifest traitors, and ordered that the Marchioness de Verneuil should be imprisoned in a convent until further inquiries were made.

The King's interview with Mary Touchet had shaken the firmness of indignant royalty; the sight of the mother reminded him of the charms of the daughter; out of his numerous mistresses she alone had delighted him by the liveliness of her conversation and the brilliancy of her wit, and he could not dispense with her company. Information was conveyed to the Marchioness that her pardon would be granted if she made a confession and solicited forgiveness; she declared that she had nothing to confess, and that, instead of asking pardon, she had made up her mind never to forgive the King. The amorous Henry tried various expedients to overcome the obstinacy of the imperious beauty; he even applied to the grave Sully to act as mediator, though Cato himself would have been a more suitable ambassador in affairs of love; the minister declined the honourable office, but others, less scrupulous, were found, and messages were hourly exchanged between the parties, the Marchioness becoming more unyielding as Henry manifested more impatience for a reconciliation.

These complicated intrigues filled the whole court with confusion: Mary de Medicis was perfectly furious; she stormed, she threatened, she raved, she wept; she even declared that she would return to Italy if her insolent rival should be brought back in triumph to the Court. The entire council unanimously remonstrated against the pardon of treason, which they declared, with truth, to be more culpable and more perilous than that for which the Duke of Biron had suffered. All was in vain; the Marchioness was recalled to Court on her own terms; old Entragues was liberated, on condition that he should retire to his estate; Auvergne's sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment, but he purchased life by a new act of treachery, having given up the original bond of association between the Dukes of Biron and Bouillon, by which the head of the latter was placed in considerable jeopardy. Even in his prison, the Count continued his intrigues; a plot for his escape was detected, but Henry only ordered him to be placed under closer restraint. The parliament punished him more severely; they decreed that the lands of Clermont and Auvergne formed part of the *appanage* of Margaret of Valois,—that they had been illegally alienated by Henry II, —and that they should be forthwith restored to that princess. The Count, to lessen the weariness of captivity, devoted himself to literature;

he composed several works on religion and philosophy, of which a few were published, the rest, still in manuscript, are preserved in the different public libraries of France.

For twelve long years the intriguing Count languished in the Bastille; an unexpected revolution procured his liberation. Henry IV. fell by the hand of the assassin, Ravaillac; the entire power of the state devolved upon Mary de Medicis, as Queen-Regent, and on her favourite, Concini, who took the title of the Marquis d'Ancre. The only rule of policy in the Regency, was to undo everything which had been done in the preceding reign. Auvergne, for no other reason than his having been disgraced by Henry IV, was not only liberated, but raised to the rank of Governor of Paris. Many persons were very indignant at the selection of such a person for promotion, but no one was more enraged than his uterine sister, and old associate, the Marchioness de Verneuil; she never forgave him the betrayal of her secrets at the time of his trial, and she endeavoured, by secret intrigues, to have his captivity prolonged. It is, indeed, probable that one of his chief recommendations to the favour of the Queen-Regent, was the hostility manifested towards him by her detested rival.

The Marchioness de Verneuil was not only deprived of all power, on the death of her royal

protector, but was exposed to some danger on a charge of having, in conjunction with the Duke d'Espernon, procured the assassination of the late King. This accusation led to a very complicated investigation, which has been very slightly noticed by most historians, and which, in many parts, is very unintelligible, as it was designedly involved in mystery by the government. After a very long and careful examination of the original authorities, we venture to give the following outline as a faithful transcript of the leading facts which were established in this extraordinary case.

The guards were on the point of cutting down Ravaillac after he had struck the fatal blow, but were prevented by the Duke d'Espernon, who shouted out "Save him, on your lives!" D'Espernon was married to the King's natural daughter by the Marchioness de Verneuil, and, if he had united with his mother-in-law to destroy the King, it is scarcely credible that he would have interfered to save the assassin for an examination which, in all human probability, would have led to a discovery of their complicity. Ravaillac was at first very loosely guarded, any one that pleased being allowed access to him; it was thought very remarkable that a Jesuit, who visited him, should say, "My good friend, whatever you do, take care that you do not accuse honest people." When judicially examined, he

declared that he had for a long time resolved to kill the King because he tolerated heresy, and because he had prepared an armament against the Pope, which, in Ravaillac's opinion, was not a less crime than to wage war against God. In his several examinations he denied that he had any accomplices, and he persevered in this assertion during all the horrible tortures which perverted ingenuity could devise to protract the agonies of his last sufferings. The fact that only three-quarters of a crown, and a few copper coins were found in his pocket, and that there was no money in his lodgings when he was arrested, deserves to be noted as subsidiary evidence that he had not been bribed to commit the crime, but was stimulated by pure fanaticism. Throughout Europe, however, it was generally believed that he had been instigated by the Jesuits and the Spaniards; the only reason assigned for implicating the latter was, that Ravaillac had been recently in the Spanish dominions, and had been seen both at Naples and Brussels. Much weight cannot attach to this consideration; it is, however, well known that the Spanish ecclesiastics and monks, but more especially the Jesuits, were encouraged by their Court to inveigh against Henry from the pulpit, and that their sermons might have had a considerable influence in urging a half-crazed enthusiast, for such Ravaillac un-

doubtedly was, to attempt the murder of a monarch, whom the ministers of religion branded as the greatest and worst enemy of Christianity.

Dr. Birch's "History of the Negotiations of Sir Thomas Esmondes," contains a different account, which is not destitute of plausibility. He says, "I shall insert a remark which I transcribe from the original memoranda, occasionally noted down by Robert Sidney, the second Earl of Leicester, who was ambassador in France from the year 1636 to 1641. Monsieur de Bouillon, he says, at Paris in 1636, and I discoursing of many affairs, particularly of what related to Henry IV. and his death, I said, I thought that blow came out of Spain. He said, 'I believe that the Spaniards had no more hand in it than you or I. That came some other way;' insinuating, as I imagined, the Queen-mother, with the help of *le petit collet*, that is, the Jesuits. 'And I know something of this,' he continued, 'for the President Jeanin and I were the two appointed to examine the villain, Ravaillac, and to take order for all things in that business, but he would confess nothing; only we observed this, that though he was *fol*, that is, in a manner mad in all things else, yet, in defence of what he had done, he used all the subtle arguments which any doctor amongst the Jesuits could allege, and would never be put out from his opinion that the King was a heretic in his heart, and so out of the Church,

and, therefore, might lawfully and ought to be killed. It seems,' said Bouillon, 'that he had been taught his lesson well.' It would also seem that he had been taught another lesson, how to keep a secret, still better.

Without inferring the complicity of the Queen from this anecdote, we may remark that her bitter complaints of Henry's neglect and of his numerous infidelities, were re-echoed by her Italian followers, and by the Jesuit preachers; that Henry's mistresses, and, more especially, the Marchioness de Verneuil, were detested by the citizens of Paris, who complained that they were ground to the earth by taxation in order that provision should be made for royal bastards, and that the numerous sermons preached against adultery afforded opportunities for oblique insinuations against the King, which were rarely neglected. These allusions may, and probably did, produce some effect in confirming Ravaillac in his murderous designs, and the favour with which such sarcastic illusions were received by the congregations, unquestionably misled him into the belief that the assassination would be hailed with popular applause. Nothing surprised him so much as the universal abhorrence with which his crime was regarded by the people,—an abhorrence so great that the butchers of Paris petitioned to have him put into their hands, affirming that they would flay him alive,

and that he should still live twelve days. Even when the flesh was torn from his body with pincers, and boiling lead, oil, and pitch, poured into the gaping wounds, he was more affected by the refusal of the spectators to pray for his parting soul, than by all the fearful agonies he endured. We may add that, though Mary de Medicis was probably no accomplice in her husband's murder, she was far from manifesting any great grief for his loss, and that her chosen friends were taken from the ranks of his enemies.

So far as we have now gone, nothing has appeared calculated to throw any suspicion on the Marchioness de Verneuil, or her son-in-law, the Duke d'Espernon: on the contrary, the circumstances we have mentioned make out a very strong presumptive proof of their innocence. We must now turn to the evidence adduced to prove their complicity. The provost of Petiviers, about six miles from Paris, was a dependant on the family of Balzac d'Entragues, and a favourite with the Marchioness; he had also two sons, belonging to the Order of the Jesuits. On the day that Henry was murdered, he was heard to say, "This day the King is either slain or dangerously wounded." Of course, when intelligence of the King's death arrived, he was seized and sent prisoner to Paris. Before, however, any examination could be instituted, he was found hanged by strings taken out of his drawers. Sen-

tence, notwithstanding, was pronounced against him, and his body was suspended by the heels from the common gibbet. A more direct charge was made by Jacqueline d'Escouman, who presented a written memorial to the Council of Regency, professing to give a distinct account of the whole conspiracy which ended in the death of Henry IV, and the persons she named as principals were the Marchioness de Verneuil, her father, Balzac d'Entragues, his valet, Gaudin, and the Duke d'Espernon; she mentioned several others as accomplices, particularly the wife of the President St. Andrè, and her sister, Charlotte du Tillet. No attention was paid to this memorial by the Queen-Mother, though she personally detested every one of the parties implicated; but the matter was so warmly taken up by Queen Margaret, that an investigation was ordered. After a very long and careful examination, the parliament pronounced a verdict of acquittal on all the accused, and sentenced Jacqueline d'Escouman to perpetual imprisonment as an infamous calumniator.

This would have been perfectly satisfactory, had not the Duke of Sulli avowed his belief that there was some ground for the charge, and stated plausible reasons for giving it some credence. He says that, a little before the King's murder, M. de Schomberg, being then at his house, received a note, which he showed him, from a lady,

named Madame de Gournai, desiring to see him immediately on an affair of the utmost importance. He returned in about half an hour, and reported that he had been introduced to a woman, —this very Jacqueline d'Escouman,—who had discovered to him a conspiracy against the King's life, the authors of which were the Marchioness de Verneuil and Monsieur ——; a blank which may be fairly filled up with the name of Espernon. Schomberg immediately gave information to the King; but Henry, finding that the informer was a woman of infamous life and profligate character, refused to sanction any inquiry into the matter. Sulli adds that Madame d'Escouman persevered in her story to the last hour of her life, and when she felt that her end was approaching, took an opportunity of confirming it, on the faith of a dying woman.

On this statement, we may remark that Sulli thoroughly detested the Marchioness, and that he ascribed to Henry's infatuation for her every calamity which befel France during that monarch's reign. There is no reason to doubt that in some of the many disputes between the King and his mistress, when her jealousy was kindled by a discovery of some of his countless intrigues, the Marchioness, who was a most imperious and passionate woman, may have discussed schemes of vengeance with the Duke d'Espernon, as she formerly did with her brother, when her

hopes of a crown were disappointed by the King's marriage with Mary de Medicis. Several reports of such treasonable conversations were brought to Henry, but he regarded them as the vague ebullitions of anger in a jealous woman, and in all probability they amounted to no more. The Marchioness had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by Henry's death, after which event she sank into complete insignificance. Her last public effort was to enforce the fulfilment of a promise of marriage which she had extorted from the young Duke of Guise; but her suit was laughed out of court, which so mortified her, that she thenceforth secluded herself in retirement, where she died, unremembered and unnoticed, A. D. 1633.

Auvergne, though an inactive, was not an uninterested spectator of his sister's trial; he contrived to spread a general belief that he was in possession of some secrets which would explain the conduct both of Clement and Ravaillac, but that he was prevented from disclosing them by reasons of state. This, which appears to have been a mere affectation to increase his importance, had the effect of fixing upon him a greater share of curiosity and attention than he deserved. The delusion survived him, and after his death many absurd stories were circulated in pamphlets, which were said to have been collected from his occasional communications to members of his house-

hold. The Duchess of Angoulême, natural daughter of Henry II, having no children of her own, adopted her nephew, the Count d'Auvergne, and was his faithful protector during all the vicissitudes of his fortunes. It was by her influence that he obtained his life from Henry IV, when his sister, disgusted and enraged by his cowardly revelations, abandoned him to his fate. She procured for him the hand of Charlotte de Montmorenci, the niece of her husband, and, at her death, bequeathed her duchy and estates to him and his heirs. His title was confirmed by the court, to which he continued firmly attached during all the troubles in the stormy minority of Louis XIII. In 1620, he commanded an army against the insurgent Huguenots in Picardy, but did not maintain the expectations which had been formed of him. He then gradually withdrew himself from public life, and sought his happiness in the domestic circle. On the death of his first wife, he married Frances de Nargonne, who was young enough to be his grand-daughter,—the bridegroom being past seventy, and the bride barely turned of twenty. History records, as a remarkable fact, the death of this lady, which took place at Montmor, August 20th, 1713, in the ninety-third year of her age, after sixty-three years of widowhood; there were, consequently, one hundred and forty years between the birth of the husband and the death of the wife. It

must have been interesting, in the last years of the reign of Louis XIV, to have had a conversation with the daughter-in-law of Charles IX.

In his retirement, the Duke of Angoulême resumed those literary pursuits for which he had formed a taste in the Bastille. He was soon forgotten in the political world, where he had played so active a part, and his death (Sept. 20th, 1650) seems not to have attracted the least attention. The fragments of his memoirs, published several years after his death, disappointed the expectations of those who expected remarkable discoveries of state secrets; but there are some reasons for suspecting that a large portion of the work was purposely destroyed.

He mentions, in one passage of his Memoirs, that he had written the secret history of the assembly of the States-General at Blois, when the Duke of Guise was assassinated by Henry III, and we may be allowed to regret more particularly the loss of a work which would have probably explained much that is mysterious in that dark transaction. A contemptible forgery, said to have been the copy of some of his papers, was published after his death, in which he appears as a conspirator, united with his sister and the Duke of Espernon, to procure the murder of Henry IV, and relates that Ravaillac only gave the King a slight wound, but that Espernon took the opportunity of giving a blow which was fatal. The

writer does not appear to have known that the Duke of Montbazon was in the royal carriage at the time, and must have seen Espernon strike the blow, if he had done so; and, further, there would in that case have been two daggers to be produced,—a circumstance which could not fail to have been noticed in the subsequent investigations. We have carefully gone over all the documents connected with Ravaillac's trial, and quite agree with Vittoria Lori, that the wretch had no accomplices. We should not, indeed, have noticed this strange tale,—which appears to be sufficiently refuted by the fact that Auvergne was a prisoner in the Bastille when the King was murdered,—had it not obtained circulation by being noticed in the notes to the English edition of Sully's Memoirs, which generally merit the high reputation they have acquired for diligence of research and accuracy of statement.

HENRY DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE,

VISCOUNT TURENNE AND DUKE DE BOUILLON.

We have given the Duke of Angoulême the precedence due to royal blood, else our attention might more justly have been claimed by the Duke of Bouillon, on account of the very important part he acted in all the great events of his age. If Charles of Valois helped to illustrate the romance of profligacy and intrigue, Henry, Duke of Bouillon, will enable us to arrive at the romance of religious war, and examine the motives of those who do not believe it

"A shame to religion when God's holy word
Is proclaimed by the trump, and confirm'd by the sword."

Few French nobles could boast of a more illustrious descent: the family of La Tour d'Auvergne traces back its origin to the ancient Dukes of Aquitaine and the Paladins, who were the companions of Charlemagne. Francis, Viscount of Turenne, the third of his name, was married to the daughter of the Constable Mont-

morenci, and by her became parent of the subject of the present memoir, who was born at the castle of Joze in Auvergne, September 28th, 1555. The Marquis de Fayette, as proxy for Henry II, held him at the baptismal font, and gave him the name of that monarch. In his second year he lost his mother, and in his third his father, who fell at the battle of St. Quentin. In consequence of these losses he was taken to the house of his maternal grandsire, the Constable Montmorenci, who bestowed great attention on his education. Madame de Montmorenci, one of the most superstitious bigots of her age, took it into her head to be greatly alarmed at Turenne's extraordinary love for the acquisition of knowledge; she declared that science was likely to lead to heresy, and that globes and maps concealed mysteries which might lead to the destruction of the soul; under these feelings she dismissed the tutor, to whom the young student was fondly attached, and employed another in his place, who made up for his want of learning by a large excess of devotion.

When little more than ten years of age, Turenne was introduced at the court of Charles IX, where he attached himself to the Duke of Alençon (afterwards Anjou), of whom frequent mention has been already made in these volumes. They were boys of about the same age, and the intimacy between them ripened into as near an

approach to friendship as the profligacy of at least one of them would admit. On the failure of the Huguenots to surprise the court at Meaux, Turenne accompanied the royal family to Paris, and was a spectator from a distance of the battle of St. Denis, in which his grandsire, the Constable, was slain; he obtained the command of part of the forces which his grandfather had led, but being only twelve years old, he was prevented, much against his will, from engaging in active service.

Several usages of chivalry, but sadly perverted from their original purity of purpose, still survived; amongst others, it was customary for each young knight to name some lady of the court as mistress of his heart, or to have one chosen for him by a friend. The connection between the knight and the lady was understood to be purely honourable, and was so originally, but during the reign of Francis I, and still more under the administration of Catherine de Medicis, these engagements lost much of their primitive purity, and deserved to be ranked among the worst forms of *liaisons dangereuses*. According to Turenne's account, his mistress possessed the best qualities of the innocence of chivalry. "Marshal d'Auvelle," he says, gave me Mademoiselle Chasteau-neuf for a mistress, whom I served very loyally so long as my freedom and age permitted. I was careful to please her, and to give her as

much of the services of my pages and attendants as my governor would permit. She was very careful of me in return; studiously repressing every approach to indecorum or indiscretion, with a gravity which was natural to her; and no person had a greater share in forming my courtly manners than this lady. I remained in her service until the (massacre of) St. Bartholomew, and we mutually honoured and esteemed each other."

Our readers will perhaps wish to know something more of "the sweet and virtuous instructress" of the future Duke of Bouillon. Shortly after the period of which he writes she became the open and avowed mistress of the Duke of Anjou (Henry III.), who was recommended to bestow her upon the Earl of Leicester as a fair exchange for Queen Elizabeth. On Henry's departure for Poland, she married an Italian named Antinotti, whom, having detected in an intrigue with one of her servant-maids, she stabbed with her own hand. A second Italian, the Florentine Altovitis, not warned by the fate of his countryman, then became the husband of the haughty dame, and introduced her to the service of Catherine de Medicis. She readily enlisted in the Queen's "battalion of beauties," and, as Papon informs us, "she greatly extended by her criminal compliances the influence which she had originally acquired by her high birth and exquisite

beauty. One of her intrigues with the Duke of Angoulême* led to a duel between her lover and husband, which was fatal to the latter; in consequence, she was obliged to retire from the court, and we cannot trace the rest of her history. Enough, however, has been said to develope the character of "the sweet and virtuous instructress" selected for our hero.

In some of his rambles with Turenne through the disreputable parts of Paris, Alençon caught a virulent small-pox, the effects of which, as we have already stated, rendered him the ugliest man in all Europe. Turenne attended the Prince during his illness with great assiduity; but on his recovery he became impatient to see the wars, and made an attempt to escape secretly from Paris. His governor discovered his plans, and threatened him with a flogging if he dared to renew the attempt. The menace of the rod to a young nobleman of fifteen years of age would assuredly be deemed very extraordinary in our days, and we have noticed it as one of those little incidents which serve to direct attention to the great though silent revolution which the progress of time has wrought even in domestic habits and manners.

Turenne candidly confesses that he was early

* Not the Duke whose life has been recorded in the preceding pages, but the natural son of Henry II. and the beautiful Leviston.

instructed in the vices then fashionable at court; happening to hear the King say that "swearing was a sign of courage in a young man," he bestowed considerable pains on the acquisition of this respectable qualification, and acquired some fame by the strength and singularity of his oaths. Charles IX. was much pleased with his pupil's progress in this elegant accomplishment; he frequently invited the Viscount to accompany him in his hunting excursions to the forest of Lionne, where Turenne and the other wild gallants of the court played many audacious pranks, which he has the grace not to recount; had he made his confession, we should probably have had a very simple explanation of the story of the "flogging demon," which so sadly perplexed the venerable historian, Palmacayet. While the court was at Blois, the young Viscount had a fray with a gentleman of the royal chamber, which had nearly ended in a duel, and on this occasion the Duke of Anjou offered to act as his second. When Montmorenci was sent to swear to the peace which had been concluded with Elizabeth (A. D. 1572), he took his young relative in his train, and introduced him to the Queen; she was greatly pleased with Turenne's manners; she loaded him with favours, and while she lived took a lively interest in his fortunes.

The massacre of Saint Bartholomew took place soon after Turenne's return to France; his con-

nection with the Montmorencis, and the suspicion which the Duke of Anjou entertained of all Alençon's friends, exposed him to great danger, and he was assured that his name had been, at first, inscribed in the lists of proscription. It is unnecessary to return to the horrors of this fearful tragedy, and we shall therefore pass, at once, to the siege of Rochelle, into which town the leading Huguenots had thrown themselves, with a firm determination to defend themselves to the last extremity. Turenne, though perfectly convinced that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was an atrocity which could not be justified, volunteered to join the royal army in the siege. The Montmorencis laboured to detain him, but he was resolved on taking an active part in the scenes of war, and, in spite of the languor arising from a recent attack of fever, he went across the country, and after a fatiguing journey, which very nearly brought on a fatal relapse, joined the royal camp. Maurevel, the assassin whom the Duke of Anjou had employed to assassinate the Admiral Coligni, commanded one of the forts which had been constructed to blockade Rochelle; but, notwithstanding the royal favour and the fanaticism of the period, exasperated by civil war, no officer of the camp would admit the wretch into his company.

There never, probably, was so great a contrast between any two armies as was exhibited between

the besiegers and the defenders of Rochelle. Dissipation and profligacy were practised in the royal camp to an excess which frequently interfered with military discipline; the citizens of Rochelle, on the contrary, under the guidance of the Huguenot preachers, displayed a rigid severity of morals, which was the very extreme of Calvinistic asceticism. Those who were not engaged on the walls crowded to the churches, where they heard sermons on the marvels which God had wrought, in ancient times, for the deliverance of his chosen people. Rochelle was compared to Bethulia, and a new Judith was confidently promised. There were many women in Rochelle who more than rivalled the courage of the Jewish heroine; they were to be seen in the thickest of the fight, bringing refreshments to their defenders, bearing off the wounded, and plundering the bodies of the fallen royalists: some took up muskets themselves, and served as soldiers in the ranks; others worked in the arsenal, preparing the matches with which muskets were fired before the invention of flint-locks, —the only species of match-making allowed in Rochelle during the siege. A shoal of fishes was suddenly driven into the harbour just as the provisions of the citizens began to fail: this was regarded as a miracle by the Huguenots, and there are many in Rochelle at the present day who believe that the supply was providential.

It gave the besieged such courage, that they planted a tree in full bloom on their ramparts, as a symbol of the freshness of their courage and the vigour of their faith; their drums and trumpets, at the same time, pealed forth loud notes of defiance, while a thousand voices raised the song of liberty, containing the sentiments which, in a later age, were prostituted to the service of a more ignoble cause:

"Plant, plant the tree; fair Freedom's tree,
'Mid dangers, wounds, and slaughter,
Each patriot's heart its soil shall be,
And tyrant's blood its water."

The ministers of religion bore a leading part in this interesting ceremony, which ended by a unanimous shout of, "The Lord of Hosts is with us! the God of Jacob is our refuge!" which abated the confidence of the besiegers, and made their leaders despair of success.

There were many in the royal camp who very reluctantly engaged in the King's service; Henry of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and some other leaders of the Protestant party, were more favourably disposed to their brethren in Rochelle than to the cause which they professedly supported. Alençon and his friends were eager to open negotiations with the Huguenots, and renew the project which had been originally devised by the Admiral Coligni, — to set aside the Duke of

Anjou and proclaim Alençon Lieutenant-General of the kingdom and heir to the throne of France. Turenne, though little more than seventeen years of age, was the person chosen to conduct the negotiations which both these parties had opened with La Noue, the virtuous and gallant governor of Rochelle. It was a service of considerable danger, and had once nearly led to fatal consequences. Turenne received a secret letter from La Noue, which he thrust into his bosom, inside his shirt, and forgot. His duty required him to wait upon the Duke of Anjou, who, perceiving the corner of the paper, pulled it out and began to open it; Turenne, with great presence of mind, threw himself on the Duke, and forced it away, declaring that it was a *billet-doux* from a lady of rank,— an excuse which was easily credited in that company.

The arrival of the Count of Montgomery, with a naval armament from England for the relief of Rochelle, raised the courage of the citizens to an extravagant height, and proportionally depressed the besiegers; but the incapacity of Montgomery, the jealousies between him and La Noue, the presence of a royal fleet supposed to be much stronger than it really was, and the instability of Alençon, Condé, and the rest of the young conspirators, prevented any great result from being effected. Under these circumstances, one of the strangest projects of this

extraordinary period was devised, and very nearly carried into execution. It was proposed, seemingly by Turenne, that Alençon, Navarre, Condé, and other leaders should go on board Montgomery's fleet, set sail for England, present themselves at Elizabeth's court, offer to her Alençon as a husband, and obtain from her an auxiliary force to support their interests in France. La Noue started sundry objections to this extraordinary scheme; he stated that the Huguenots might suppose that the princes fled from despair of their cause,—that Rochelle, which was still capable of a protracted resistance, might not be able to resist the panic produced by the departure of the fleet,—that Charles IX, in alarm, might display the *oriflamme*, and rally round him the entire strength of his kingdom,—and, finally, that Elizabeth might disavow the enterprise, and treat her unwelcome visitors with the same severity she had manifested towards the unfortunate Queen of Scots. It is not generally known that this intrigue was betrayed to the court, and that Pinaud, the secretary of state, was sent to dissuade Alençon from engaging in such a perilous undertaking. The history of Pinard's mission is worthy of record.

The information respecting Alençon's designs had been sent to the Court by the Duke of Anjou; and to him Pinard went, requesting him to be present when the royal order was delivered to

his brother. Anjou, with the duplicity characteristic of the favourite child of Catherine de Medicis, testified the greatest surprise at the intelligence. He replied, that "though he never would be found deficient in showing respect and attention to the orders of the King, yet he could not bring himself to go on such a disagreeable business to his brother Alençon, who might attribute such a proceeding to ill will, and perhaps suspect that the message was owing to his interference." Pinard kept his countenance, a very necessary but very difficult task for secretaries of state in those days, and, taking his leave, proceeded to the quarters of the Duke d'Alençon.

It is probable, that Alençon had some suspicion of the nature of the message with which Pinard was charged; for he received him with great coolness, almost amounting to rudeness. The secretary, affecting not to notice the Prince's ill humour, simply stated his mission; he said, "that the King and the Queen-Mother having received information of the Prince's intention to pass into England, and of the preparations he had made for his voyage, commanded him, under pain of their severe displeasure, to abandon his design, and remain in the camp."—The Duke replied, that "he did not believe one word of what had been said, for if his mother and brother had intended to send him a message of such consequence, they would have employed some person

of higher rank and superior quality." Swallowing the mortification produced by this insult, which even his old experience as a courtier scarcely enabled him to disguise, Pinard answered, "that the choice of the King in this matter had been guided by considerations of fidelity and secrecy, not quality or rank, and that he would entrust such a message only to a minister in whom he reposed the highest confidence." — "Show me your instructions!" shouted the Duke, in an angry voice. "I am not bound to do so," said Pinard, "because there is a possibility of your wresting them from me by violent means. Nevertheless, to show you that my words are worthy of credit, behold my instructions in proper form." Alençon hastily glanced over the documents, and, after a moment's pause, continued, "I see nothing here which does not confirm my opinion, that this whole proceeding is an artifice of my enemies. Who is to prove to me that these are the genuine signatures of my brother and mother? Do not I know that you gentlemen ministers are often accustomed to forge their names? With respect to Villeroi's name, which is here countersigned, I am well aware that you frequently do these things for each other." Morals were certainly in a curious state, when a secretary of state accused a prince of the blood with a design to rob him of his papers, and when the prince retaliated, by openly imputing forgery

to the minister. In spite of all Pinard could say, Alençon peremptorily refused to recognise him as an authorised messenger, and dismissed him as a person of inferior quality, who had availed himself of false pretences to get into the company of his superiors. The secretary withdrew, humbled and mortified, and not the less so, because Anjou, on hearing the story, was greatly amused at his confusion.

This incident is sufficient to show that political intrigues and personal jealousies diverted the attention of the royalist chiefs from the siege of Rochelle; many other circumstances contributed to the failure of the enterprize; a dangerous epidemic appeared in the camp, and swept away multitudes of officers and soldiers; discipline was so lax, that whole companies abandoned the lines, and either formed themselves into troops of banditti, or returned to their own homes; the young nobles who accompanied the princes knew neither how to command nor how to obey; and the example of their insubordination was fatal. To gratify the impetuosity of the young aristocracy, several assaults were hazarded before the breaches were practicable, and, these being repulsed with dreadful slaughter, an opinion began to prevail in the army that Rochelle was impregnable, and that further perseverance in the siege was a useless and ruinous waste of life. Aware of these circum-

stances, Catherine resolved to avail herself of the first honourable pretext for putting an end to the war. The election of her son, the Duke of Anjou, to the throne of Poland, afforded her the desired opportunity; she declared that the Protestants of that country had supplicated her to grant pardon to their brethren in France, and that the new king, anxious to gratify his Polish subjects, had joined his urgent entreaties to their supplications. Everybody knew that there was not one word of truth in this precious plea, from beginning to end; but everybody also had grown heartily sick of the war, and the negotiations for peace were commenced with all due solemnity. The articles of the treaty were hurried over with a rapidity which gave just displeasure to the manufacturers of red tape, and the partisans of routine diplomacy; but the negotiators were, probably, unwilling to waste time, ink, and paper, in preparing a treaty, which it was perfectly certain that neither party would observe one moment longer than suited their own convenience.

The treaty was signed; Henry of Anjou departed to his new kingdom of Poland; his departure was lamented by his mother, but by nobody else in France. Charles IX. accompanied him to Vitry, in order to have the pleasure of seeing him out of the kingdom; and Alençon, who succeeded to the vacant title of Anjou, com-

menced, through the intervention of Turenne, a new series of intrigues with La Noue and the leaders of the Huguenots, to prevent his return. La Noue wrote to the Duke, informing him that he had secured a large body of the nobility, and several cities and towns, in favour of their schemes. Alençon, or, as we must now call him, Anjou, left this important letter open on a table, where it was found by one of his servants, who had been bribed to act as a spy upon his conduct by the Queen-Mother. Ferrand took the document, and conveyed it to Catherine de Medicis. Fortunately, Turenne happened to be at her Court that morning; one of the ladies-in-waiting, who had been gained over to Anjou's party, gave the Viscount a hint of his danger, whispering to him, "She has got hold of some letter which your friend, the Duke, has lost." Turenne hastened to Anjou, and soon found out the nature of the missing document. Anjou was in despair; but Turenne advised him instantly to sit down, and write a reply to La Noue, reprobating him for having presumed to address a prince of his approved loyalty in such terms, declaring that his only object was to promote the honour of the King, and warning the Huguenots, that if they entered into any new conspiracies, they would lose the advantages secured to them by the recent treaty. Fortified with this hypocritical document, Anjou, accompanied by Turenne, proceeded

to the Queen-Mother's apartments, who received them with a duplicity equal to their own. After some desultory conversation on the nothings of the day, Anjou, as if suddenly recollecting himself, said, "By the way, Madame, I received a letter from that old intriguing heretic, De la Noue, this morning; it is of such an extraordinary nature, that I wish to show it to you, and also the reply." He put his hands in his pocket, and produced his own answer, but of course found no trace of La Noue's letter; at this pretended disappointment, he feigned to be greatly enraged; he stamped, he cursed his own carelessness, he swore at Turenne, until at length recovering himself, he said, "No matter, Madame, I can state its substance," which he did very faithfully. "Now, listen to my answer;" which he read. The part was so well acted, that Catherine was completely deceived; she even offered the services of one of her own couriers to convey an answer to La Noue, which, it is hardly necessary to add, were gracefully declined.

Catherine's suspicions were, however, soon awakened again, and she took advantage of a strange adventure to diminish Anjou's power, and, at the same time, to deprive him of the aid of his most prudent councillors, the Montmorencies. The circumstances of the case are not susceptible of a very clear explanation, for in this Court, amorous and political intrigues

united with and crossed each other; a mistress was sometimes sacrificed to a party, and sometimes a party was abandoned for a mistress; more frequently both pursuits were followed together, and love was permitted to suspend all differences and interests of politics and religion. A young man, named Ventabren Seigneur de Mejanes, had a high reputation in the court for bravery and gallantry; at the siege of Boulene, in all the ardour of chivalry, he had vowed to write his mistress's name on the top of one of the hostile ramparts, and had accomplished this daring feat unwounded; but as the injured husband was in the army, the friends of the young gallant directed a smart fire on the inscription, and effaced it before it could produce any mischief. Such an exploit rendered Ventabren a universal favourite with the ladies; his addresses were irresistible; like Cæsar, "he came, saw, and conquered." The Duke of Guise was in love with some lady of rank, who was suspected of granting the favours to Ventabren which she denied to him; he met the favourite on the steps of the royal staircase, and, after the interchange of some angry words, drew his sword and gave him three wounds, which at first were supposed to be mortal. The moment that the young gallant fell, the Duke hasted to the King's chamber and begged the King to grant him his pardon for having taken away the life of an

assassin, who had been hired to murder him by his faithless wife and M. de Montmorenci. Though the character of the Duchess of Guise was much the same as that of the other ladies of the Court, that is to say, as bad as it well could be, there does not appear the slightest evidence of her having intrigued with the grave Montmorenci, though more than one scandalous chronicle asserts that Ventabren was a favoured lover. Ere the King could determine on an answer Montmorenci himself appeared, and vindicated the character both of himself and the lady in the strongest terms; to the Duke's astonishment, he added, that Ventabren was still alive, and demanded that he should be examined. To complete the scene, La Mole, the unfortunate favourite of the Duke of Anjou, rushed into the apartment, exclaiming that "God had spared the life of his cousin, in order that the truth might be made manifest." What the truth really was it is now vain to conjecture, for the examination of Ventabren was confided to the favourite councillors of Catherine de Medicis, and they made him say just what the Queen commanded them.

Whatever was the origin of this incident, Catherine contrived to render it subservient to her own designs; she persuaded the King that Ventabren had been hired to assassinate the Duke by Anjou and Montmorenci; the King, who was

not unjustly suspicious of both his brothers, refused to confirm Anjou's title as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Montmorenci, indignant at being thus compromised, and unable to obtain any redress, withdrew from the Court, thus depriving Anjou of his ablest adviser at the most important crisis of his fortunes.

In the meantime Turenne had arranged with De la Noue, and several other leaders, both Protestant and Catholic, all the preliminaries for an insurrection. It was resolved that the new war should be political, not religious, and that the insurgents should take the name of Politicians, Dissidents, or Malcontents, instead of Huguenots. Some of the Protestants, amongst others Du Plessis Mornay, resisted what they considered a sacrifice of religion to temporal objects; De la Noue's authority, however, prevailed, and arrangements were made for sending a strong force to the vicinity of St. Germains, where the Court resided, in order to bring off the Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre, and the other leaders of the intended revolt. We have already given some details of the events which followed, in the articles on Queen Margaret and Castelnau, where the matter is noticed as the "Conspiracy of La Mole and Coconnas;" we shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to such particulars as best illustrate Turenne's share in the plot. He had secured a place of refuge for the princes and

himself in the castle of the Duke of Bouillon, at Sedan, which, at that time, he little expected would ever become his own, and he waited patiently for the 10th of March, (1574,) which was the day fixed for the explosion. About a fortnight, however, before the appointed time, Turenne received a letter from the Sieur de Gitry, one of the principal conspirators, declaring that he had already taken up arms, and that they must hasten to join him with all speed, as he had received certain information that the plot was discovered. Anjou, Navarre, Condé, Thoré, and some others, were hastily assembled by Turenne; he proposed that they should at once ride out under pretence of a hunting-match, and, taking the road to Mantes, place themselves under the protection of M. de Buhy, who commanded a garrison there, composed of Montmorenci's soldiers, and whose brother, M. du Plessis, held a leading rank among the conspirators. This bold counsel was approved, and M. du Plessis received orders to make prompt preparations.

Anjou, as the time approached, became alarmed at the hazard; his favourite, La Mole, persuaded him that it would be wiser to wait until the town of Mantes was secured, and Gitry's forces brought up. Thoré, who had a large sum of money which he did not wish to leave behind, joined in urging the same timorous counsels, and, in spite of Tu-

renne's remonstrances, the precious opportunity was permitted to slip away. In consequence of heavy rains, Gitry presented himself before Mantes with only forty-five mounted followers; Buhy refused to compromise himself when so inconsiderable a force was provided for his support, and after a sharp skirmish, Gitry was forced to retire.

Intelligence of the attack on Mantes, with a more than ordinary intermixture of popular exaggeration, was brought to St. Germains late at night. Catherine gave instant orders that the conspirators should be arrested; La Mole, to save his neck, disclosed part of the truth; Anjou revealed the whole. It is difficult to imagine the feelings of Turenne, when, on entering the Queen's chamber, the King of Navarre whispered in his ear, "Our man has told everything."

Anjou, however, spared Turenne in his cowardly revelations; Charles IX. even took him into his counsels; it was resolved that while the Court sought safety in Paris, three deputies,—M. de Torsi on the part of the King, Turenne on the part of the Duke of Anjou, and M. d'Arbouville on the part of the King of Navarre—should seek out M. Gitry, and inquire the reason of his rebellious conduct. Gitry was sorely perplexed when a royal trumpeter brought him such a message from the Viscount Tu-

renne; he appointed a place of meeting with the deputies, and came to the interview in a state of great doubt and indecision. He stated the list of grievances which led to this appeal to arms in the terms that had been arranged, in all probability, by Turenne himself; great, then, was his astonishment to hear the Viscount declare, with all due gravity, that "His Royal Highness, the Duke of Anjou, by permission of the King, had sent him to express his high displeasure at their having shown such want of confidence in the goodness of the King's disposition, as to have had recourse to arms; that their attempt was one which he could neither countenance nor favour, and that he advised them to throw themselves upon the royal mercy." Gitry, utterly amazed, requested a few moments of private conversation with Turenne and Torsi. When they were a little removed from the company, Turenne informed him that "his precipitation had spoiled all: that the Princes, without being absolutely prisoners, were so closely watched, as to render escape impossible, and that the wisest course he could pursue, would be to come to Paris and disarm the King's anger by the best excuses his ingenuity could devise." Gitry consented, provided that he received a royal passport guaranteeing his safety in going and returning. All parties agreed that this was a reasonable condition, and Turenne posted to

Paris to obtain a safe-conduct from the King. It was not without some difficulty that the other Protestant leaders, who had taken arms in the interval, consented to Gitry's trusting himself to the doubtful faith of the Court. Turenne declares that, if he had not exerted his personal influence, they would certainly have refused. He showed, at the same time, that he himself placed little confidence in the royal honour, for he warned his friend and relative, Montmorenci, not to yield to the pressing invitations requesting his presence at the Court; the warning was neglected, and Montmorenci, immediately after his arrival, was sent to the Bastille. Gitry, however, was permitted to return in safety; intelligence of the landing of the Count de Montgomery in Normandy, having warned the Court that it would not be very safe to provoke the resentment of the Huguenots.

La Mole's confessions having implicated Turenne, orders were given for his arrest. Fortunately, he had left Paris to join his regiment, and, being warned of his danger, he fled to his native province, Auvergne, where he continued to lurk about until intelligence was received of the death of Charles IX. On receiving intelligence of this event, Turenne placed himself at the head of the malcontents in his province, and entered into a league with the Huguenot leaders in the hope of securing the throne for the Duke

of Anjou. In the midst of the war, Turenne openly embraced the Protestant religion, a circumstance which greatly weakened his influence with the Duke of Anjou, who now bestowed all his confidence on Bussy d'Amboise. After having made more than one attempt on his brother's life, and obtained pardon by the interference of Catherine, Anjou feigned a dangerous sickness, and sent for his brother and mother to grant him pardon for the offences of which he had been guilty towards them. This farce was so admirably performed that even such accomplished actors as Catherine and Henry III, were completely deceived; the hypocrite defeated them with their own weapons, and threw them so completely off their guard, that he had no difficulty in escaping from Paris that very night. He soon joined the malcontents, and published a manifesto, declaring that he had not taken up arms against the King, but against his ministers, who were the real cause of all the evils under which the country suffered, and he solemnly promised to return to his allegiance so soon as the public grievances were redressed. Catherine easily contrived to open a secret communication with her precious son, who, in a few weeks, became heartily sick of his knight-errantry; she represented to him that he was a mere instrument in the hands of the insurgent chiefs, who only showed him outward homage, but, in

reality, used him for their own purposes. Several of his profligate followers, enraged at the contempt manifested towards them by the more respectable portion of the insurgent nobles, infused the same suspicion into his mind; he had not been many weeks in the field before a treaty of reconciliation with the Court was very considerably advanced. Turenne was sent by the confederates to infuse some courage into the mind of his early friend, but he found him quite dispirited by the events of the war, and obstinately bent on disgusting his Protestant supporters by nonsensical declamations on the vileness of heresy. The Prince of Condé, and some of the other leaders, grew weary of this trifling; they sent word to the Duke, that if he did not join them in a certain number of days, they would adopt such measures as would best insure their own safety, and take no further interest in him or his concerns.

Turenne was both the adviser and the bearer of this message; it placed Anjou in a most unpleasant and difficult position; his treaty with his brother was not quite completed, and he dreaded, above all things, being left at his mercy; on the other hand, he was determined not to continue the war, but to return at the earliest possible moment to the gaieties and debaucheries of Paris. The Viscount saw his indecision, and understood its cause; he knew that the Duke expected a

letter from his mother, which would, probably, contain his pardon; and he, therefore, plied himself with every argument he could devise to induce him to throw himself into the hands of the army. Anjou peremptorily refused to take any immediate step, and demanded that a fortnight should be granted to him for deliberation. With this unsatisfactory answer, Turenne returned to the confederates.

Duke Casimir, the leader of the German auxiliaries, who had come to the assistance of the Huguenots, the Prince of Condé, De la Noue, and the other leaders, regardless of Anjou's hesitation, resolved to carry on the war with vigour. They gained several advantages over the royal forces; and, had they been supported by all those who promised them assistance, they would have carried their arms to the very gates of Paris. To this time we may, perhaps, refer a little anecdote related by Du Plessis Mornay. He, Turenne, and La Noue occupied the same quarters, and took it in turns to say prayers at night before going to bed. One day, they invited Duke Casimir to dinner, and, as he "drank like a German," they were a little confused before the party broke up. It was Turenne's turn to say prayers; he began, but after a vain effort to string together two consecutive sentences, he gave up the attempt, and called upon La Noue to take his place. La Noue succeeded no better, and transferred the task to

Plessis Mornay, who failed still more signally. At length, they agreed to go to bed, and say their prayers in private to themselves. The story got abroad, and afforded much amusement to the soldiers, who frequently joked with the officers on their attachment to German books of devotion.

The Duke of Anjou was greatly alarmed when he saw that the confederates were beginning to act upon their threat of following their own courses, without any reference to his authority. After a little further delay, he joined the army, where his presence only served to bring distraction to their councils. Catherine, however, had now resolved to conclude a peace; she came to Chastenay, accompanied by her "battalion of beauties," who proved to be very able diplomatists in the course of the negotiations. A treaty was concluded, by which a large appanage was ceded to the Duke of Anjou, and liberty of conscience granted to the Huguenots; but the delegates of the latter were so blinded with the witchery of female charms, that they did not insist on adequate security for the fulfilment of the articles. When the peace was signed, Turenne applied to his old friend for the government of Anjou and Berry, which formed part of the appanage just ceded to him, but he met with so cold and mortifying a reception, that he did not again renew his application.

The divisions which Catherine fostered between all who surrounded her, led to new controversies, and Turenne, finding that his former connection with the Duke of Anjou exposed him to the suspicions of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and other leaders of the Huguenot party, resolved to go and take a formal farewell of the Duke, and at the same time openly testify his dissatisfaction at the ingratitude with which he had been treated. He paid this visit accompanied by three or four hundred of the gentlemen and captains who had been his associates in the late war, and who were equally displeased at the open desertion of their cause, by one for whom they had laboured and suffered so much.

When admitted to Anjou's presence, Turenne saluted him very respectfully, and addressed him in the following terms?—"I trust that your Royal Highness will permit me to recall to your mind the length of time that I have been in your service, and that during the entire period, I neither regarded what was due to my Sovereign, my life, or my property, provided that I could advance your interests. My exertions to advance your cause have deprived me of the King's favour, and often exposed my life to forfeiture, and my property to confiscation. Up to this hour, I have never received any return for my services; the gentlemen who accompany me have partaken of all your adverse fortunes, and are

not allowed to have any share in your prosperity. We are far from attributing this to ingratitude, it may arise from want of merit in us; but we doubt whether it will be thus viewed by the world. We are more likely to serve as a warning and an example to others, and a proof to those of our religion that they have nothing to expect from your Highness. It is obvious, indeed, to everybody, that my profession of Protestantism is the principal obstacle to your distribution of honours reaching my person. Without indulging in unseemly self-praise, I can fairly say that my merits and quality are of a very different kind from some of those whom I see around your Highness, and to whom it is notorious that rewards are destined far beyond any which they have deserved.* I am pleased when I reflect that the neglect ostentatiously exhibited towards me, must be attributed to your Highness's forgetfulness, and not to any fault of mine. I am come to take my leave; I am about to retire into Guienne, with all the gentlemen whom you see around me; their presence is a proof that they deem my dissatisfaction well-founded, and that they sympathize with me in regret for the disappointment of those hopes which induced them to enter the service of your Highness."

* This hit was aimed at M. de Saint Sulpice, to whom, for a reason which he does not explain, Turenne had conceived a great aversion.

To this remonstrance, delivered, as an eye-witness declares, with all the self-possession and dignity belonging to the representative of the sturdy old Kings of Aquitaine, the Duke of Anjou was too embarrassed to make any reply; it is not easy to guess what he could have said. The silence continued unbroken until Turenne had taken his departure. He was followed by some of the Duke's retainers, who said that his Highness had been greatly grieved at their parting; that this discontent originated in some misapprehension, that he had always loved, and would love, the Viscount, and that they thought it hard to hear him reproach the Duke with having bestowed favours upon them, which they thought that they had merited. Turenne, with a contumelious sneer, complimented them on performing actions of which neither he nor anybody else had ever heard; adding, that "if any of them dared to address him on terms of equality, he would slay them on the spot." This scene took place within Anjou's hearing, and he was further mortified when a gentleman present exclaimed, "See what you have lost in losing the Viscount de Turenne."

Saint Sulpice, aware that Turenne had directly levelled part of his sarcasms against him, stopped the Viscount on the stairs and asked, "Were any of your reproaches directed to me?"—"Yes!" replied Turenne, "and were it not that I feel some

respect for his Royal Highness, which prevents me from exciting any disturbance under his roof, I would punish your insolence for stopping me on the stairs, in a way that you would remember all the days of your life." Several of the gentlemen who followed, were excessively indignant with Saint Sulpice, to whom, though very unjustly, they attributed no small portion of the Duke of Anjou's misconduct; they shouted out "Strike him dead, my lord!" at which, Saint Sulpice was so alarmed, that he ran hastily up the staircase, and never thought himself safe until he had found refuge behind his master's chair.

Turenne's great object, henceforth, was to be the recognized chief of the Protestant party; no one removed a single degree from idiotcy could place any confidence in the Duke of Anjou; the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been reconciled to the Romish Church at the "Parisian Matins," as the massacre of St. Bartholomew began to be called by those who wished to find out historical parallels, and, therefore, balanced its atrocities against the "Sicilian Vespers." The other leaders were men of moderate rank, and, consequently, Turenne, in the moment of a vacancy, became tacitly a recognized chief. It was probably to put an end to, or, at least, to limit, his influence, that the King of Navarre, immediately after he had made his escape from

the Court, published his return to the Protestant religion to the world, and declared that he had only professed Romanism to escape from the savage fury of Charles IX. There were, however, many of the Protestant preachers who insisted that he should rather have submitted to martyrdom than taken life on these terms.

Turenne attached himself to the party of the King of Navarre, but, at the same time, he sedulously exerted all his powers of intrigue to maintain a party, or section of a party, peculiarly his own. Both were, however, much alarmed when an edict appeared from the convocation of the States-general at Blois. It was generally believed, and not without reason, that one object of this assembly would be the annihilation of the privileges granted to the Protestants by the preceding treaty. On Turenne's own showing, it is evident that at this critical period he was more anxious to form a party, than to advance the general interests of the Protestant cause. Navarre was not yet the presumptive heir to the crown; Anjou was alive, and Henry III. had not abandoned all hopes of posterity; it was not, therefore, any presumption in the Viscount to dispute the leadership of the party: in fact, he seemed better calculated to be its head, than one whose indiscretions were so notorious as those of Henry of Navarre. To effect his object of becoming leader of the Huguenots, Turenne in-

vited to his castle every minister who acquired any character or influence as a popular preacher among the congregations; all the persons distinguished for science or literature who belonged to the party; the ancient servants and friends of the Admiral Coligni, whom he professed to take as his model. He engaged a chaplain, formed a congregation of his domestics; and in his private conversations, showed a great dislike for the fashionable levities and gaieties which were condemned by the more rigid of the Huguenots in France, as they were by the Puritans in England. It is difficult to avoid imagining, that much of this sanctity was pure grimace, affected as a contrast to the conduct of the King of Navarre, which was far from being able to bear the scrutiny of any strict moralist.

The convocation of the States-general had formed an article of the late treaty; but the Protestant party, aware that they would be the weaker in that assembly, evinced no anxiety to enforce the stipulation. On the other hand, Henry III, animated by a bigoted hatred of the Protestant religion, and by a desire to revenge the mortification of repeated defeats from his own subjects, hastened the meeting as much as he could, and even omitted many customary forms, in order that there should be no delay to the gratification of his fanaticism and revenge. The states met at Blois, a city which, subse-

quently, witnessed their convocation for a very different purpose. Great praise was bestowed on the speech with which the King opened the proceedings, and orators were chosen by the three orders, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, to make proper replies. "It is remarkable," says the Dean of Troyes "that the three orators coincided in the point of its not being advisable to allow of any but the one true and Catholic religion in France,—an agreement so wonderful that it was generally attributed to the influence of the Holy Spirit." There was, however, nothing wonderful in the matter; preparations were already in progress for the formation of the League, and these orators were among its original contrivers; their coincidence in opinion was the result of the spirit of fanaticism and faction.

The Duke of Guise, to whom the second convocation of the States at Blois proved so fatal, took a leading part in the first assembly. He inherited the ambition and intolerance of his ancestors; he regarded the leaders of the Protestants as the rivals of his power and the enemies of his religion; he was, therefore, very indignant at the continued increase of their strength, and the influence which began to accrue to them from the growing probability that the King of Navarre would succeed to the throne of France. To the confederation of the Protestants and malcontent Catholics among the nobility he felt that it was

necessary to oppose a countervailing force,—the union of persons of all orders attached to the Romish Church. Measures had already been taken, under his direction, to organise this formidable alliance, and in 1576, he had concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Don John of Austria, the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who, like the Duke of Guise, was suspected of secretly aiming at a crown. The act of Catholic union, concerted by these Princes, was sent for signature to the principal cities of the kingdom, and was subscribed by persons of every rank. Henry III. at first viewed its progress with tacit approbation, for he believed that it would give him sufficient strength to retract the concessions which had been extorted from him by the Protestants in the late pacification; he did not foresee that the strength derived from such a union might be directed to the weakening or even the annihilating of the royal power, and that the leaders of the League would become virtually the rulers of France. One of the first measures adopted by the States was well calculated to convince him of his error; the commons, seconded by the two other states, demanded that the King should name three commissioners, to whom, assisted by a delegate from each province, should be assigned the task of regulating all matters to be brought before the assembly; that the States should have the power of rejecting any commis-

sioners so appointed who did not possess their confidence; and that whatever the States decided upon, should become a law of the kingdom. They went farther, and insisted that any law on which the three orders were unanimous should be received by the King, without any power of rejection or alteration, and that in any case where the orders were divided, the King should pronounce judgment, but under the control of a council, consisting of the Queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, and twelve deputies chosen by the National Assembly. It is easy to see how odious such a proposition must have been to a sovereign of the House of Valois, whose hereditary policy it had ever been to break down the flower of the nobility, and establish absolute despotism in France; and how great the force of bigotry in the mind of the King must have been to induce him to endure the very mention of such stringent limitations to his prerogative. He submitted for the moment, and even signed his name to the League, but he secretly resolved, so soon as he had effected the destruction of the Protestants, to direct his next efforts to overthrow the Duke of Guise.

The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the other Huguenot leaders, protested against the proceedings of the states of Blois, and began to make preparations for defence. It was fully time; a law was passed ordering that two armies

should be raised for the defence and service of the Catholic religion, that the command of one should be conferred on the Duke of Mayenne, and that the other should be entrusted to the Duke of Anjou. Civil war was now commenced in every part of the kingdom; Turenne, who had long anticipated the result, led an army of his retainers and dependents into the field; he distinguished himself by his daring gallantry in several of the battles, or rather skirmishes, which were fought, for it was the policy of both parties to avoid a decisive action. The states-general had no sooner been dissolved than Henry III, who vacillated between his hatred of the Protestants and his jealousy of the Duke of Guise, commenced negotiations for peace. Turenne, who had quitted the army to make a short visit to his estate, was hastily summoned back to take a share in the discussion of the preliminaries. He obeyed the call with such speed that he did not wait for the protection of a proper escort; he was attacked on his road by a party of marauders from the royal army, and so severely wounded, that his life was in great danger. The attention shown him by the King of Navarre reconciled him to that Prince, and on his recovery he joined the small but brilliant circle which Henry had assembled in his court of Nerac.

During the cessation and occasional renewal of hostilities, which could neither be called a state of

war or peace, Catherine de Medicis, confident in her powers of diplomacy and intrigue, paid a visit to the court of Nerac, in the hope that she could bring the King of Navarre over to her side. She blamed the influence and counsels of Turenne, for her ill success; and, in revenge, excited such a quarrel between him and Navarre, that the King sent the Viscount a challenge. Turenne went to the place of combat, but it was only to make those submissions which were due to the high rank of his antagonist. A second duel, also excited by the arts of the Queen, was attended with worse consequences. Two brothers, Durfort de Duras and Durfort de Rosas, challenged Turenne to meet them, accompanied by any friend he pleased to select, for in this age it was the custom that seconds should fight as well as principals. The Viscount selected for his friend the brave Baron de Salignac, and went to the appointed ground. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the disadvantage was wholly on their side; Turenne brought Rosas to the ground, and Salignac disarmed Duras; but, at the same moment, five or six assassins, who had been placed in ambush, rushed upon the Viscount, and gave him several dangerous wounds. Salignac raised an alarm, and the ruffians fled. Turenne was conveyed back to the Court, but made no effort to have the brothers punished, for he rightly believed that they were instigated to this act of

treachery by Queen Catherine. Some time afterwards, when the matter was related to the Marshal de Damville, or, as he was now called, by the death of his brother, the Marshal de Montmorenci, he declared it to be his opinion that, according to the laws of honour, the Viscount de Turenne was at liberty to satisfy his revenge by any means whatever without exposing his own life. Acting on this high authority, the Viscount, accompanied by a party of his retainers, made an attempt to surprise Duras in his castle, under the cover of night. The attack was frustrated by a singular accident; a huge stag, under the excitement of the periodical accesses to which these animals are subject, happened to be in the dry moat of the castle; he charged the assailants who attempted to cross it so furiously, that they became alarmed and abandoned the enterprize.

Henry III, having discovered that his sister, Margaret, acted as a spy upon his conduct, sent her home to her husband, the King of Navarre, a piece of refined malice; for he was well aware that neither had any wish for the other's company. The affair, however, had nearly terminated in a very different manner from what he hoped and intended; Navarre was attacked by a violent fever, and Margaret tended him so affectionately during his illness, that confidence was restored between them, and it was generally reported that they were about to live together in connubial comfort.

The King of France, who mortally hated his sister, wrote to Navarre that Margaret had engaged in an intrigue with the Viscount Turenne; Navarre, with his usual generosity and frankness, showed the letter to the two accused, who indignantly denied the imputation. We have already noticed this circumstance in the life of Margaret, and shall only add here, that her fury against her brother induced her to exert all her influence to excite his enemies to renew the war.

Turenne, although acquitted by the King of Navarre, did not deem it prudent to remain any longer in the court of Nerac. Reports of his intimacy with the Queen were circulated, and generally credited, so that scandal might have exposed him to danger if he remained any longer in a place which was so rife with calumny. He was invited by the Protestants of Upper Languedoc, who were weary of the government of Montmorenci, to place himself at their head, and he obeyed the summons. The author of the "Satirical Divorce," states that he had become weary of the caprices of Queen Margaret, who was as faithless to her lovers as she was to her husband, and that he was glad of any excuse for separating from such an importunate coquette. Turenne found the Huguenots of Languedoc divided into so many parties, and so unwilling to unite under the guidance of a single leader, that he returned to Guienne, and assumed the government of that

province, with the title of Lieutenant-general of the King of Navarre. This gave such offence to the Prince of Condé, who looked upon himself as the rightful governor of Guienne, that he sent a challenge to Turenne, which the Viscount had the prudence to decline. At the same time, he wrote in such proper terms to Condé, that the Prince, who was as generous as he was rash, laid aside his animosity, and ever after treated the Viscount as one of his best friends.

A new change came over the councils of Henry III, who was alarmed at the progress of the League, and the growing power of the Duke of Guise, both of which he attributed to the secret practices of the Court of Spain. In revenge, he secretly authorised his brother, the Duke of Anjou, to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which was proffered to him by the revolted provinces, and to raise forces among the Huguenots and malcontents of France. Under the auspices of Anjou, a new treaty was concluded with the Protestants, and at the same time the Duke renewed his friendship with Turenne, who promised to follow him into Flanders. Before engaging in this expedition, the Viscount attended a remarkable meeting of the Protestants at Montauban, in which it was proposed that the Reformed Churches of France should form themselves into a federative body, under the presidency of the Elector-Palatine. The Churches were to be divided into five

departments, each under the government of a Lieutenant-general, and Turenne was named as one of the five. Sulli informs us that this dangerous project was rejected by the influence of the King of Navarre, who feared, not without reason, that it might lead to the dismemberment of the kingdom.

We have already related the disastrous results of Anjou's expedition to Flanders; Turenne was made prisoner in the course of the disgraceful campaign, and was forced to pay a heavy ransom to recover his liberty. He then returned to France, and presented himself at the court of Henry III, just as the plots of the League were reaching their maturity. The Protestants regarded him as the representative of their body at Court, and, probably, he was the only one of their leaders who was able to cope with Catherine de Medicis. In their conference at Fontenoy, he had shown the Queen that he could read her soul. "I am grieved and surprised," she said, "that such distrust should be shown as you appear to exhibit. If the King were insincere in his desires of peace, he would have chosen an agent very different from his noble mother to practise dissimulation!" The cool impudence of this speech silenced all the other deputies; but Turenne gravely and firmly replied, "Madame, so many edicts have been violated, so many treaties broken, and so many gross artifices practised

on the Protestants, that it would be insanity on our parts to repose implicit confidence any longer. Permit me to add, Madam, that your own conduct in these transactions perfectly justifies the distrust and suspicion which we cannot help feeling and manifesting." Thrown off her guard, she assumed an imperious tone, and said, "It is your duty, as subjects, to obey. The King wills that there should be only one religion in his dominions."—"Such is our will also," replied the Viscount, "provided that the one religion be that which we profess; but an attempt to force us to adopt the religion of Rome must lead to a renewal of the war, and the effusion of much blood."

Turenne did not interfere in the perilous and dishonourable intrigues which filled the court of Henry III; he accompanied the monarch to the second convocation of the States at Blois, but was not, as some writers have asserted, cognizant of the plots for the assassination of the Duke of Guise. Indeed, he lamented the murder of that gallant nobleman, whom, though an enemy, he respected for his bravery; in fact, he clearly saw that this atrocious murder would so irritate the Catholics that the King would be in greater danger than ever. Before this desperate crime was committed, Turenne had joined the King of Navarre, who was exposed to considerable danger from the large army led against him by the Duke

de Joyeuse. A writer of the day, whose authority is, to a considerable extent, confirmed by Sulli, declares that Henry III. privately sent for Turenne, previously to his departure, and entrusted him with a message to the King of Navarre, to the effect that the war was renewed against his will; but that he was unable to resist the force which the Duke of Guise and the bigots of his party put upon his inclination. Navarre, supported by his German and Swiss auxiliaries, encountered the Royalists, who were far superior to him in numbers, at Coutràs. Turenne's division, which occupied one of the wings, was at first thrown into some confusion by the desperate charge of the Royal cavalry; but he rallied the fugitives behind a select body of infantry, which checked the horsemen in their full career of victory. At the same moment, three pieces of cannon, which constituted the whole of Navarre's artillery, opened on their flanks, and made lanes through their broken lines. Navarre, conspicuous by his snow-white plume, the Prince of Condé, and the Count de Soissons, seized the propitious moment, they led their squadrons into the very thickest disorder of the Royal cavalry; that body, a helpless and confused mass, was hurled back upon the infantry, and in a few moments it was no longer a battle, but a rout. Joyeuse, and four hundred of the Catholic nobility, fell upon the field, with near five thousand private men. This

was the first great victory which the Huguenots had ever gained, and it was solely attributed to the King of Navarre, who commanded like a great general and fought like a brave soldier.

But the conquerors did not know how to profit by the advantages they had gained; they divided their forces, and went each in pursuit of their own private schemes; the King of Navarre and the Count of Soissons to visit their mistresses; the Prince of Condé to carve out for himself an independent sovereignty in Anjou and Poitou; and Turenne to conquer for his own use the principality of Perigord. The Duke of Guise took advantage of these blunders to march against the Swiss and German allies of the Huguenots, who were easily induced, on the payment of a large contribution, to evacuate the territories of France.

The death of the Prince of Condé, who was poisoned by his associates, added to the weakness of the Huguenots, and they were still more alarmed by the death of the Duke de Bouillon, who left one daughter to inherit his vast estates, the house of Lorraine openly threatening that they would compel the lady to give her hand to the Duke of Guise. The firmness of her guardian, the celebrated M. de la Noue, frustrated their plans, and the lady's hand was reserved for the Viscount Turenne. Intelligence was soon after received of the insurrection in Paris, of the flight of the King, and of the com-

plete triumph of the league and the Duke of Guise. The King of Navarre immediately offered his services to Henry III., but they were not immediately accepted, as he expected greater results from the assassin's dagger than from open and honourable war. Guise, and the most conspicuous leaders of his party, fell by the most execrable deeds of royal treachery on record: Catherine, despised and detested by all, and by none more than that son for whom she had steeped her soul in so many crimes, died of a broken heart, exclaiming with her latest breath, "No one will lament me." Henry III, deserted by his former friends, had no resource but to court the alliance which he had previously rejected; and to entrust the defence of his crown and person to the most generous of his former enemies, the King of Navarre. In a short time the last of the house of Valois fell by the knife of Clement, as we have fully shown in the preceding chapter, and Henry of Navarre became Henry IV. of France.

In October, 1591, Viscount Turenne married Charlotte de la Marck, the wealthy heiress of Bouillon, and on the very day of his nuptials took the town of Stenay by storm. In the following year, the Duke de Bouillon, for by that name he was henceforth known, received the baton of a marshal of France. It would be necessary to write the entire history of the war

were we to recite Bouillon's services when under the King's command, and when, as was more frequently the case, he was placed at the head of an independent army. Sulli, who personally disliked the Duke, and who was heartily detested by him in return, insinuated that he was deficient in bravery and conduct, but De Thoré ably vindicated both the courage and ability which he displayed during the whole of this arduous contest. Henry IV. placed such confidence in his diplomatic skill that he sent him as his special ambassador to England, in order to conciliate Queen Elizabeth, who was, or pretended to be, exceedingly displeased at the King's reconciliation to the Church of Rome. Bouillon was personally interested in the success of this negotiation, for it was in consequence of his earnest representations that the King had declared war against Spain. Elizabeth, however, at this crisis, refused to assist her ally either with men or money, and Sulli insinuates that this course of policy was suggested to her by the ambassador himself. However this may be, it is certain that Bouillon and many other leaders of the Protestants, stood aloof when the capture of Amiens seemed to have opened the road to Paris to the Spaniards. Their conduct at such a moment was, to say the least of it, very ungenerous, but it can scarcely be called impolitic, for it was the independent attitude which they assumed that induced the King to issue the edict

of Nantes, which for eight years continued to be justly regarded as the Magna Charta of the Protestants of France. Bouillon's conduct on this occasion deprived him for ever of the King's friendship, and this alienation led him to take an active part in Marshal Biron's conspiracy, the particulars of which are detailed in the life of the Duke of Angoulême.

On the detection of the plot, Bouillon was obliged to become an exile to escape the Bastille, and, probably, the scaffold. He sought shelter first at Geneva, and afterwards at Heidelberg, with the Elector-Palatine, to whom he was related by marriage. All the Protestant Princes of Germany interceded with Henry in his favour, and, on his making proper submissions, he obtained a pardon, but was never again admitted to a share in the royal confidence. Discountenanced by the Court, Bouillon retired into private life, and occupied himself with retrieving his domestic affairs, which had fallen into sad confusion. In his long intervals of leisure he composed for his son, the Memoir from which we have largely quoted. In many parts of these we find a lamentable want of candour, and occasionally a deficiency of high moral principle;

> " Sed Cantaber unde
> Stoicus, antiqui præsertim ætate Metelli?"

which we may render,

> How could we hope to find a Frenchman sage
> In Valois' reign, and Catherine's wicked age.

The remainder of the Duke's history does not belong to the times of Elizabeth, and may, therefore, be told very briefly. On the death of Henry IV, Bouillon scented civil war and intrigue as the war-horse "smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting." He hastened to Court and advised the Prince of Condé to contest the Regency with Mary de Medicis, offering him all his influence with the Protestant party to support his pretensions. Condé refused an offer which would, undoubtedly, have plunged France into the same anarchy, from which she had with difficulty been rescued by the courage and talent of Henry IV. His services were more acceptable to the Regent who gratified him by disgracing the virtuous Sully. While in her service he quarrelled with most of the Huguenot leaders, particularly with the Duke of Rohan, whom he regarded as his rivals; but soon after, having quarrelled with the Marshal d'Aucre, we find him acting as the head of the Protestant body, and contributing to that minister's overthrow. Thus the close of his life was passed in the midst of the same political convulsions, agitations, and intrigues, which had marked the earlier part of his career; and thus his example became to his son an edifying comment on the lessons of loyalty he had inculcated in his Memoirs. He died at his castle of Sedan, March 25, 1623, leaving, by his second wife, Elizabeth of Nassau, eight children, the

eldest of whom inherited his talents and passion for intrigue, together with his estate. His second son was Viscount Turenne the renowned Marshal of France, whose name alone is sufficient to suggest a history.

Having now brought to a close the lives selected to illustrate the condition of society in the age of Elizabeth, the writer may be permitted to lay aside his incognito, and to direct attention to the great moral lesson which it has been his aim, however feebly, to inculcate. Nearly all the follies, absurdities, and crimes stigmatized in the preceding pages, arose from one source, the want of mutual forbearance, the absence of that enlightened toleration which is the first, and most obvious principle derived from Christian charity. Catholics and Protestants were equally guilty in their efforts to force their peculiar doctrines upon their brethren, and to deny to others the freedom of opinion which they demanded for themselves. Hence the records of this age have furnished the rival historians of the several parties with ample materials for mutual reproaches and recriminations, which have been repeated with consistent pertinacity, until all parties have been rendered as black as they well can be; so much so, indeed, as to defy the utmost efforts of what Voltaire calls "the wash-tub and the scrubbing-brush." It is not unreasonable to hope, that in this condition the combatants may discover that the em-

ployment in which they have been engaged is neither very profitable nor very pleasant, and be persuaded of the wisdom of the old Scottish proverb, to "let bygones be bygones." If, however, they are resolved to persevere, they must not be annoyed if they find that the combat affords amusement to the spectators. If they are disposed to laugh at any of the grinning witnesses, the writer included, it is about one of the best things they can do: for well and wisely saith Damasippus, according to the report of Horace,

"Velut sylvis, ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit,
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus: hoc te
Crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille
Qui te deridet, caudam trahat."

As Francis has rendered this passage with more than usual success, his translation is subjoined,

"When in a wood, we leave the certain way,
Our error fools us, though we various stray;
Some to the left, some turn to t' other side:
So he who dares thy madness to deride,
Though you may frankly own yourself a fool,
Behind him trails his mark of ridicule."

THE END.

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